The WELSH CLASSICS

ANEIRIN · Y GODODDIN

Y Gododdin

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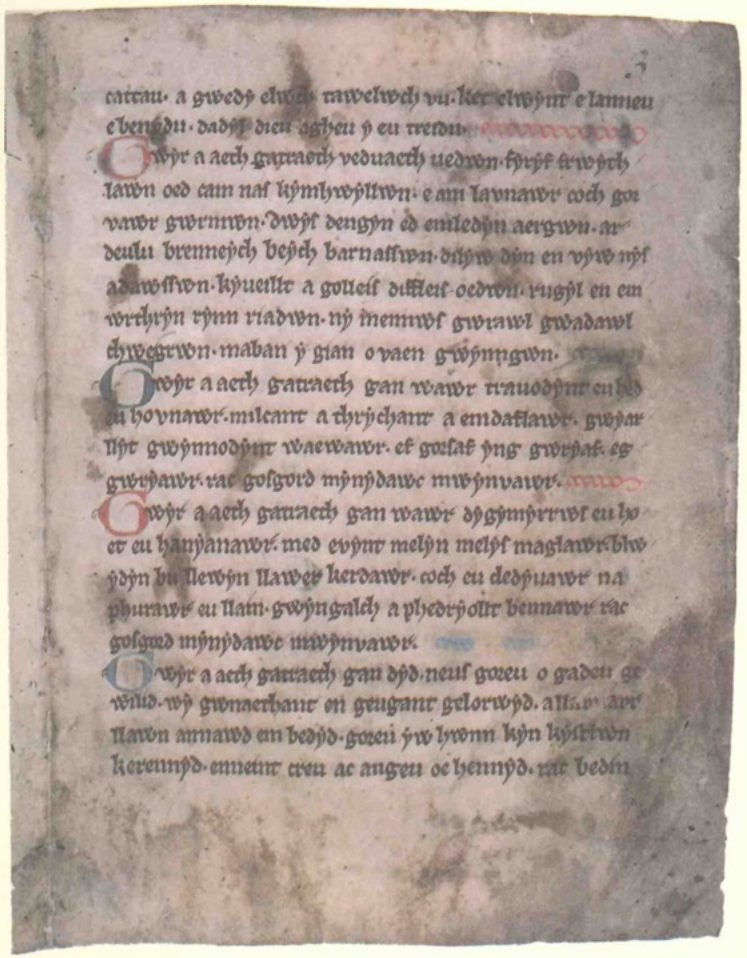

A page from the Book of Aneirin (for the text see pp. 7-9).

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ANEIRIN:

Y GODODDIN

BRITAIN'S OLDEST HEROIC POEM

A. O. H. JARMAN

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I aelodau
Cylch yr Hengerdd

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The battle of Catraeth: geographical background

PREFACE

Y Gododdin, the earliest Welsh poem of any considerable length, has been printed and translated several times, but has not hitherto been easily available for perusal and study by the general reader. The present edition, which contains facing texts in both Welsh and English, as well as an Introduction, Notes, and a complete Glossary, is intended to meet the needs of readers falling into at least two categories. The first consists of those who desire the opportunity of reading the poem in the original Welsh and savouring its poetic quality with a minimum of hindrances and a sufficiency of aids to understanding the text; in the second are readers who, while not possessing Welsh, are interested in the poem's conceptual content, the ideals and values it enshrines, its imagery and literary features, and the light it sheds on the thought and outlook of the age which conceived it. It is hoped that the text, which is printed in modern orthography and punctuated, but is otherwise unaltered apart from requisite emendations, will be found serviceable by readers who wish to give it their close attention. The Notes are principally designed to elucidate the language of the poem, without undue concentration on the textual and philological problems with which it abounds. In the Glossary the meanings given are naturally those which occur in the text. Readers who wish to study *Y Gododdin* primarily from a conceptual point of view will find that the Notes also include at least a modicum of matter relevant to their interests. The poem's contents are, however, more amply treated in the Introduction. This commences with a general sketch of its historical background, and then proceeds to give a fuller account of its characteristics as a poem. These include its component elements, problems connected with its composition and authenticity, date and transmission, its acquirement of interpolatory material, the ideas it incorporates and ideals it exalts, its modes of expression and use of figurative language, and the place it occupies in the Welsh literary tradition. Attention is also drawn more briefly to a few general features of its metrics and language, but it should be stressed that the bulk of the linguistic information contained in the volume will be found in the Notes and

Glossary. The Bibliography supplies references for authorities cited in the Introduction and Notes, and provides a list of further reading material.

The problems associated with the translation of verse were discussed by Dr Rachel Bromwich in the first volume of this Series, and by its reviewers. Readers may recall Gibbon's judgement that Pope's translation of Homer was 'endowed with every merit excepting that of likeness to the original'. No particular merit is claimed for the rendering of *Y Gododdin* offered in this volume. It does not attempt to reproduce the consonances, cadences and rhymes of the Welsh poem, and it certainly does not pretend to be free verse, whether good, bad or indifferent. But, though not completely literal, it does seek to express the thought and content of the original as closely as possible, in so far as that is feasible in a medium so different from the *Hengerdd* as Modern English. And with a few exceptions, it maintains a line for line correspondence between the Welsh poem and the translation.

The text of *Y Gododdin* presented in the following pages is that of the medieval poem as it was preserved for posterity in the thirteenth-century Book of Aneirin, rather than of the poem in the form in which it may be presumed to have existed in the pre-Old Welsh period. Obvious interpolatory matter has not been excised, and as a general rule the use of emendation has been directed towards attempting to make sense of the poem we possess rather than the more speculative (though justifiable) task of establishing an earlier text. The book should be judged as an exercise in *haute vulgarisation* (if the adjective is not too pretentious), and no kind of finality is claimed for it. It is also very far from being an exhaustive study. The text of *Y Gododdin* contains innumerable points or matters of interest, linguistic, literary and historical, which call for minute examination and thorough discussion, but the amount of attention which they receive in any single study is subject to many restricting factors. However, work on the poem, as on early Welsh poetry in general, is proceeding productively in many quarters. The National Library of Wales will shortly publish a facsimile edition of the Book of Aneirin which will include an introduction by Mr Daniel Huws based on his examination of the manuscript when it was

being repaired and rebound. A book of specialist studies of early Welsh verse, and in particular of *Y Gododdin*, is also due to be published at the Library, and an edition of the entire text of the Book of Aneirin has been promised by Kathryn A. Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve E. Sweetser of the University of California, Berkeley. Since the present work was sent to the press Professor Leslie Alcock's *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* (Cardiff, 1987) has appeared. It includes background material relevant to *Y Gododdin*, in particular chapter 15 on 'The Warfare of Saxons and Britons' and chapter 16 on 'Warfare and Poetry among the Northern Britons'. The latter is a reissue of the author's Presidential Address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1982 (see below, p. xci).

Recently Professor John T. Koch, of the Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures at the University of Harvard, very kindly sent me advance copies of his three forthcoming articles entitled 'When Was Welsh Literature First Written Down?', 'The Cynfeirdd Poetry and the Language of the Sixth Century', and '*Llawr en Assed* (CA 932) "The Laureate Hero in the War-Chariot:" Some Recollections of the Iron Age in the *Gododdin*', which are to appear respectively in *Studia Celtica*, in the National Library's volume *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, and in *Etudes Celtiques*. In the first of these Professor Koch argues that Welsh verse was conceivably written down at a much earlier date than has hitherto been thought likely, and suggests tentatively that Rhun ab Urien (cf. below p. xxii) could have been associated with this development. In the other two articles, while admitting at the outset that 'the linguist who seeks to authenticate or to dis-authenticate the Cynfeirdd poetry seems to face a fairly desperate task', he employs the techniques of historical philology to reconstruct representative passages of *Y Gododdin* in the form in which it may be conjectured that they were composed in the sixth or seventh century. He also proposes, on the same basis, a number of emendations and reconstructions of individual words, phrases and lines, e.g. *llawr en assed* (cf. the note on line 718) which he translates 'the laurel-bedecked champion in the war-chariot', and links with the Latin *laureatus in essedo*.

As the present volume had already been type-set, it was not possible to include references in it to Professor Koch's proposals for interpreting the text, although one or two of his suggestions have been adopted, e.g. in the translation of the stanza on the battle of Strathcarron (p. 66).

The volume has been read in draft by Dr Rachel Bromwich and Professor J. E. Caerwyn Williams, and I wish to thank them for their comments and encouragement. I am also grateful to Professor Brian Woledge for reading the Introduction and translation and criticizing them from the point of view of his expertise in another medieval literature. My wife gave me much painstaking assistance with proof-reading and the checking of references, and made many valuable suggestions. The views expressed in the volume and any deficiencies which may be found in it are, however, my own responsibility.

A. O. H. JARMAN

Note: It may be useful to explain that *Y Gododdin* means 'The *Gododdin*', and that *Y* is pronounced as the first vowel sound in *further* or the vowel in unaccented *the; dd* has the sound of *th* in *the*. The misspelling and mispronunciation *Gododin* were common in the nineteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

General

Y Gododdin, the poem which is the subject of this volume, has been preserved in only one medieval copy, the thirteenth-century manuscript known as the Book of Aneirin, now housed at the Central Library in Cardiff. Its reputed author, the poet Aneirin, was traditionally believed to have flourished towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Thus, if we accept the poem as his authentic work, either in part or in its entirety, a gap of some six and a half centuries separates the date of its composition from that of our earliest copy. We must assume that during this period it was preserved partly by oral tradition and partly in written copies which have not survived. As printed in Sir Ifor Williams's edition, *Canu Aneirin*, published in 1938, *Y Gododdin* is a poem of 1257 lines arranged in a hundred and three stanzas. In form it is an elegy, or a series of elegies, for individual members and sometimes groups of members of the tribe of Gododdin who fell at the battle of Catraeth, which is conjecturally dated c. 600. The Gododdin, whose name also provided a title for the poem, were a Brittonic people who inhabited the south-eastern area of Scotland during the Roman and post-Roman period and were ruled from their tribal centre at Din Eidyn, or Edinburgh. The geographical background of the poem which perpetuates the memory of their fallen warriors is therefore, not Wales, but the extensive northern territories which continued to be Welsh-speaking well into the seventh century, and later in some areas. *Y Gododdin* has been described, no doubt correctly in strict geographical terms, as the 'oldest Scottish poem', but its language, in the form in which it has been preserved, is either Old or Early Medieval Welsh. At some indeterminate date, but probably not very much later than c. 600, the poem must be presumed to have been transmitted to Wales where, together with the panegyric poems ascribed to Aneirin's northern contemporary Taliesin, it furnished Welsh literature with one of the corner-stones of its medieval poetic tradition. How much adaptation of the text was made in the course of its transmission from the

North to Wales is not known. Nor is an answer readily available to the question of how much of the present text was added to the original core of the poem after its arrival in Wales. In the present edition, however, *Y Gododdin* is presented as a single poem, or at least as a single sequence of stanzas, and with the exception of numbers 1 and 101-3 the arrangement followed is that of Sir Ifor Williams.

Besides *Y Gododdin*, the Book of Aneirin contains four *Gorchanau* or 'Additional Lays', namely *Gorchan Tudfwlch*, *Gorchan Adebon* (or *Addefon*), *Gorchan Cynfelyn* and *Gorchan Maeldderw*. These are poems of varying length (respectively sixty-four, fifteen, seventy-five and sixty-nine lines in Sir Ifor Williams's arrangement) and treat in part of the matter of *Y Gododdin*. A prose passage in the manuscript, however, while referring to the first three of the *Gorchanau* as 'additional lays of *Y Gododdin*', ascribes the fourth to Taliesin. It attributes to *Gorchan Maeldderw* a value equivalent to the sum total of that of all the stanzas of *Y Gododdin* and the other three *Gorchanau* in a bardic contest.

The Manuscript

We possess only one early (i.e. medieval) text of *Y Gododdin*. All other copies are later than the mid-sixteenth century and derive, either directly or indirectly, from the text in the Book of Aneirin. This manuscript was dated by J. Gwenogvryn Evans c. 1250, and by N. Denholm-Young in the second half of the thirteenth century. It contains thirty-eight small vellum pages and according to the currently accepted view was written by two hands, known as A and B. On the first line of page 1 scribe A wrote the rubric 'This is *Y Gododdin*. Aneirin sang it', and then proceeded to copy eighty-eight stanzas of the poem, filling twenty-two pages and completing the last stanza on the fifth line of the twenty-third page. He then left the remainder of page 23 and the whole of page 24 blank, and on page 25 began to write the text of the four *Gorchanau*, which he completed on the eleventh line of page 30. At this stage the manuscript came into the hands of scribe B, who had access to another text of *Y Gododdin* in an older orthography and consisting partly of variants of stanzas found in the A text, and partly of stanzas not found there. Scribe B began copying on the blank part of page 23 and filled this and the whole of page 24 with the text of six stanzas. He continued his copying on the eleventh line of page 30 and wrote thirty-six stanzas on this half-page and pages 31-8. The last stanza, however, is incomplete and three leaves or folios (i.e. six pages) are missing at the end of the manuscript, so that we do not know how much of B's text has been lost.

This account of the manuscript has, however, been challenged in part by three American scholars, Kathryn Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve Sweetser, of the University of California, Berkeley. In their view the *Gorchanau* were written by a third hand, that of scribe C, and the section of the manuscript which he wrote, containing these four poems, at first probably existed separately from the section which contained A's eighty-eight stanzas of *Y Gododdin*. Indeed, in point of time, scribe C's work may be slightly prior to A's. However, owing to the relationship of the subject-matter of the two sections, the two manuscripts, or codices, were bound together, and the activities of scribe B later proceeded exactly in the manner described above. The completion of the Book of Aneirin occurred, the American scholars suggest, around 1300.

The Text

In Sir Ifor Williams's edition of *Y Gododdin* the order of the stanzas in scribe A's text is followed. Variants of the same stanza occurring at different places in the A text are, however, printed in sequence, and variants from the B text are also placed with the stanzas as found in A. The last fourteen stanzas in Sir Ifor Williams's arrangement are only found in B. The same order is followed in the present edition but when versions of a stanza are found in both A and B a conflated text has as a rule been formed based on a comparison of the readings. In a few cases, however, where the variation is great, the variant texts have been printed in full. When the B text contains more than one version of a stanza Sir Ifor Williams, rather confusingly, has printed

them as B, C, D and E texts. For the sake of convenience in referencing this has been followed in this edition, but it must be remembered that all these variants were written by scribe B. In the present edition, too, four stanzas have been moved from their positions in the manuscript text. These are the 'Reciter's Prologue', which has been placed at the beginning, and the three interpolated stanzas 101, 102 and 103, which have no connection with the subject-matter of *Y Gododdin* and have been printed at the end, but before the selections from the *Gorchanau*. In Professor Kenneth Jackson's translation of *Y Gododdin* the A and B texts are printed separately so that both are afforded their full status as distinct versions of the poem, and precedence is given to the B text. Justifying this arrangement Professor Jackson expresses the view that the B text as it stands 'is some centuries older and is on the whole more original', while on the other hand the A text 'evidently preserves the order of the verses distinctly better'.

Text A is in Medieval Welsh orthography, as exemplified by such forms as *mein (= main), rac (= rhag), kynted (= cyntedd), seithuet (= seithfed), aryf (= arf), angheu (= angau), nyt (= nid)*, etc. Much of the B text, however, is in a different orthography, that of Old Welsh, and uses spellings such as *cintebic (= cynhebyg), muihiam (= mwyaf), ciguereint (= cywraint), guero (= chwerw), scuitaur (= ysgwydawr), anthuim (= handwyf)*. According to Sir Ifor Williams this shows that the scribe was copying from a text in the orthography of the ninth or tenth century (800-1000) and in effect proves the existence of a written text of *Y Gododdin* in that period. But a later scholar, Dr David Dumville, has shown that this is unprovable, as it cannot be demonstrated that Old Welsh orthography did not persist until c. 1100. The B text, therefore, could be derived from an exemplar written at any time during the three centuries 800-1100.

In the present edition the poem is presented in standard twentieth-century orthography but no other changes have been made in the text apart from necessary emendations and choices of readings dictated by the process of conflation. It was thought that any attempt to modernize the vocabulary and syntax of the poem in the interests of intelligibility would disturb, or destroy, the rhythmical pattern

of its lines and thus diminish the reader's awareness of its impact upon an audience at the time it was recorded, if not much earlier. It is hoped that a judicious use of the Glossary which includes every lexical item in the text, in conjunction with the Notes and English translation, will meet the needs of those who wish to give close attention to the poem in its Welsh form. Readers who wish to pursue their studies in greater detail will, of course, consult Sir Ifor Williams's edition as well as the publications of numerous later commentators whose works are listed in the Bibliography. The number of each stanza in *Canu Aneirin* is indicated in Roman capitals above the first line. The translation facing the Welsh text is an attempt to render the meaning as closely as possible in plain English without doing violence to the usage and idiom of that language. On the whole it is line for line, but it does not attempt to reproduce the stresses or the alliterative and rhyming patterns of the original.

Background

The geographical and historical background of the matter of *Y Gododdin* lay in northern Britain in the latter years of the sixth century, A.D. In a territory very much larger than that of modern Wales, peopled by Brittonic-speaking communities, three substantial kingdoms had by that time emerged, namely Strathclyde (Ystrad Glud), Rheged and Gododdin, and their leading families and ruling classes are known as the 'Men of the North'. In Strathclyde the most notable figure was Rhydderch Hael (the 'Generous'), who held sway in his fortress of Dumbarton or Alclud, although Glasgow later became the centre of the kingdom. Memories of him were preserved in association with the Merlin legend, and historically he is one of the best attested of the kings of the period. He is, however, not mentioned in *Y Gododdin* and is not in any way connected with the subject-matter of the poem. Carlisle was possibly the centre of Rheged and its most celebrated ruler was Urien, generally known as Urien Rheged, who is praised in a group of eight poems attributed to the poet Taliesin. Welsh scholarship has in recent times

been much concerned with the problem of the authenticity and antiquity of these poems. One of them refers to Urien as *llyw Catraeth*, 'ruler of Catraeth', i.e. of the very locality at which the men of the tribe of Gododdin are described as fighting in the poem *Y Gododdin*. Urien, however, is nowhere mentioned in connection with the battle, and probably had died before it took place. The Gododdin inhabited a territory to the east and north-east of the other two kingdoms. Its capital was at Din Eidyn (Edinburgh) but it extended from Manaw of Gododdin in the area of Stirling to the region of the Tyne. The tribe or people known as the Gododdin (earlier the 'Votadini') gave their name to the territory they inhabited, as also, later, to the poem which commemorated their fallen warriors. They are believed to have enjoyed friendly relations with the Romans who, during their occupation of southern Britain, may have treated them as *foederati* and thus secured their co-operation as a bulwark against the Picts of northern Scotland. Their ruler at the time of the battle of Catraeth appears to have been Mynyddog Mwynfawr (Mynyddog the 'Wealthy') who, however, is a shadowy figure, for unlike Rhydderch and Urien his existence is not attested in any early source apart from some sixteen references to him by name in the text of *Y Gododdin* itself and one in *Gorchan Tudfwlch*. He is not mentioned in any of the genealogies of the Men of the North, or in any early poem other than those in the Book of Aneirin.

It would, however, be an over-simplification to think of the 'Old North', as it is frequently called, simply as a territory neatly divided into three kingdoms ruled over from three capitals. References in the early poetry and other traditional sources show that there were many other semi-independent courts and localities over which minor lords or kinglets held sway, and it is probable that the army of the Gododdin which fought at Catraeth included many such persons. To the south of Gododdin and Rheged too, and incorporating the modern area of Leeds, the kingdom of Elfed, or Elmet, maintained an independent existence until 617, and in the sixth century was possibly ruled over by a king called Gwallog, who is the subject of at least two panegyric poems attributed to Taliesin. And in the most south-westerly part of southern Scotland Goidels from

Ireland had for generations been gradually establishing a bridgehead which, by the end of the sixth century, had grown into the kingdom of Scottish Dál Riada, ruled over *circa* 573-608 by the redoubtable Aedán mac Gabráin. Aedán, known in early Welsh tradition as Aeddan ap Gafran, is believed to have enjoyed close relations with the kingdom of Strathclyde and gave the name 'Arthur' to one of his sons.

Until the latter part of the sixth century uninterrupted links and communications existed between the kingdoms of Wales, and in particular north Wales, and the Brythonic communities of northern Britain. It has been surmised that the poet Taliesin was originally a native of Powys who migrated northwards to the courts of Rheged and Elfed. The ninth-century collection of historical traditions known as the *Historia Brittonum* records that a hundred and forty years before the reign of Maelgwn Gwynedd (who died in 547 according to the *Annales Cambriae*) a certain Cunedda and his eight sons had come 'from the region called Manaw Gododdin' to Gwynedd and expelled the Irish therefrom with great slaughter. Maelgwn was Cunedda's great-grandson and the ruling house of Gwynedd was thus able to claim a Gododdin ancestry. The date of the migration from the North, if its historicity is accepted, is very uncertain, but it probably occurred early in the fifth century (if not before 400) and may have been arranged by a Roman, or immediately post-Roman, authority with the purpose of strengthening resistance against barbarian invaders in a frontier area. Although Cunedda himself bore a Welsh name, an early genealogy tells us that his immediate ancestors were called *Aetern*, *Patern* and *Tacit*. These Old Welsh forms (modern Edern, Padarn and Tegid) were derived from Latin *Eternus*, *Paternus* and *Tacitus*, and no doubt reflected the pro-Roman sympathies of the Gododdin in their original homeland. Memories of their northern origins and connections would be certain to persist among the warrior ruling class of Gwynedd and a number of those praised in *Y Gododdin* for their fighting prowess are said to have come from various parts of northern Wales. This suggests that a sense of identity with the Gododdin continued to exist in Gwynedd some two centuries after the days of Cunedda (see below, p. xxxvi).

During the middle and the second half of the sixth century the conquest of the coastal areas of north-eastern England was gradually achieved by the Angles, and this resulted in the establishment by them of the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. These corresponded roughly to the later counties of, respectively, Yorkshire and Durham/Northumberland, together with a section of south-eastern Scotland. In the early seventh century they were combined to form the kingdom of Northumbria. Although Deira and Bernicia were Anglian territories, both had acquired Brythonic or Welsh names, *Deifr* (or *Dewr*) and *Brynaich*, which are used in *Y Gododdin* for these kingdoms as well as for their inhabitants. A passage incorporated in the *Historia Brittonum*, but embodying earlier northern tradition, names the British kings who resisted the Anglians as Urien, Rhydderch Hen (probably Rhydderch Hael), Gwallog and Morgant. It does not state whether these four rulers fought individually and on separate occasions, or contemporaneously and in league with each other, but it adds the detail that Urien besieged his enemy in the island of Medgawdd, or Lindisfarne, and that while campaigning he was killed through the design of Morgant, on account of jealousy of his surpassing skill in the prosecution of war. Among the Anglian kings mentioned as fighting against the Britons are Hussa (who reigned 579-86, or possibly 585-92) and Deodric (572-9, or possibly 586-93). Ethelfrith is then named, who became king of Bernicia in 593, and acquired Deira in 605, uniting the two to establish Northumbria.

If Urien possessed the outstanding military qualities which are attributed to him, and are amply confirmed by the Taliesin poems, then his death by treachery, at a moment when he appeared to have the enemy at a disadvantage, was a major disaster for the Britons of the North. No doubt large areas of eastern Rheged, including Catraeth, were now seized by the Anglians. In the absence of records any attempt to reconstruct the course of events during the closing years (or decades) of the sixth century is pure speculation, but it has been reasonably surmised that the expedition against Catraeth, made famous for posterity in *Y Gododdin*, was the response of Britons from beyond the northern borders of Rheged to the threat which they

now saw facing them. For the battle of Catraeth itself there is no surviving historical evidence. This, of course, does not preclude its acceptance as a genuine event, for during the struggles of the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons in this period there can be no doubt that many encounters, of varying degrees of magnitude, went unrecorded. Sir Ifor Williams's conjecture, based entirely on his interpretation of allusions in *Y Gododdin* itself, is that in the court of Din Eidyn Mynyddog Mwynfawr decided to meet the new situation with calculated military action strategically planned. The aim was to strike against the enemy at Catraeth, the modern Catterick in Yorkshire, which under the name of Cataracta or Cataractonium had been a place of some importance since Roman times. It lay at the junction of two roads, one leading northwards towards Edinburgh, and the other north-westwards towards Carlisle. Occupying this position, its military significance for the Britons was clear, and Mynyddog's expedition may have been intended to recapture it shortly after it had fallen into the hands of the Angles. Professor Jackson makes the further point that, by attacking the enemy at Catraeth, Mynyddog would be acting in accordance with the well-known strategic principle of hitting the enemy at the point of junction of two allied armies (those of Deira and Bernicia), where coherence was weakest. Whether this consideration was in Mynyddog's mind is, of course, purely conjectural, but we gather from *Y Gododdin* that he assembled a host of three hundred youthful warriors from both within and without Gododdin territory and including the small group from north Wales, feasted them for a year at the court of Din Eidyn, and then sent them forth on the expedition to Catraeth. Contrary to the usual practice in that age, he did not himself lead his host to battle. In military terms the attack upon Catraeth proved to be a complete disaster. Despite their unflinching courage and utter devotion and obedience to their chieftain, the host of the Gododdin were destroyed by the overwhelmingly superior numbers of the enemy.

It has been surmised that the date of this event was c. 600, or shortly before that year. The *Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* has included an entry in its Chronology of Welsh History 'c. 595 the battle of Cat-

raeth, commemorated by Aneirin in "*Y Gododdin*". ' To what extent the image of the battle which we receive from the poem reflects the actuality of the conflict is a moot point. The three hundred warriors who 'went to Catraeth' are depicted as a troop of cavalry, but Professor Jackson has expressed the opinion that in all probability they were accompanied by a much larger body of infantry. He argues that an army of anything up to three thousand would be reasonable in the circumstances of the time and refers to Bede's statement that in 603 at the battle of Degstastán (Dawstone in Liddesdale) Aedán mac Gabráin led 'an immense and mighty army' against the Anglians under Ethelfrith, who however defeated Aedán with a smaller force. Before this battle Ethelfrith is described by Bede as ravaging the Britons cruelly and 'exterminating or enslaving the inhabitants, extorting tribute, and annexing their lands for the English'. Aedán was clearly attempting what the Gododdin had failed to achieve some years previously. In Professor W. J. Watson's view, had he succeeded 'the result might well have been the political fusion of Urien's province and even Lothian with Dál Riata at that time'. In the event, however, Rheged was absorbed by Northumbria and we read of Rhun, a warrior son of Urien who had become an ecclesiastic, baptizing Edwin of Northumbria and twelve thousand of his people in 627, and of the obviously dynastic marriage of Rhieinfellt, grand-daughter of Rhun, with Oswy of the same Anglian kingdom in c. 635. Rhun himself, however, may have been instrumental in preserving the traditions concerning the northern Britons which have been incorporated in the *Historia Brittonum*. The kingdom of Gododdin appears to have survived the disaster of Catraeth for over a generation, until the capture of Edinburgh by the Anglians in 638. Thereafter the only remaining northern Brythonic kingdom was that of Strathclyde, which continued in existence for several more centuries.

The route followed by the host of the Gododdin in the direction of Catraeth is not indicated in the poem, and can only be a matter of surmise. It has been suggested that it most probably was via Crawford, Carlisle, Penrith and Appleby, and thus through Rheged territory, avoiding the eastern coastal area where the Bernician presence would

have been too close. The distance to be travelled was between a hundred and fifty and two hundred miles and there would have been many problems of organisation, particularly if both cavalry and infantry were involved. *Y Gododdin*, as a heroic poem of mourning and celebration, is silent upon such mundane matters. How long the journey took can only be conjectured. Especially uncertain is how the Gododdin host coped with the question of supplies: did it live by plunder or did it receive support from any surviving inhabitants of Urien's former kingdom? A glance at the scene from the vantage-point of the twentieth century might suggest that it was in the interest of Rheged to support the Gododdin army, but it does not follow that this was seen to be so at the time.

Despite the lack of evidence in historical sources for Mynyddog's expedition and the battle of Catraeth, one reference has survived, of a literary rather than historical nature, which at least has corroborative value. This is found in a panegyric entitled *Moliant Cadwallon* ('The Praise of Cadwallon'), celebrating the exploits of Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, who attempted to restore Welsh or Brythonic authority over the north of England in the second quarter of the seventh century but was killed at the battle of Hexham in 634. The oldest text of the poem is unfortunately very late (17th cent.) but linguistically it exhibits medieval or earlier features and a strong case has been made for its acceptance as a genuine praise-poem on the grounds that all the references it contains are consistent with its having been composed during the last year of Cadwallon's life. One line in this poem refers to *eilywed Gatraeth fawr fygedog* ('the grief of Catraeth, great and famous'), a phrase which can with great probability be understood as an allusion to the destruction of Mynyddog's army between thirty and forty years previously. The preceding line appears to be stating that the 'grief' had been caused by Gwallog, and we may well wonder whether the king of Elfed (if he be accepted as such) had in any way been involved in the strategic planning which led to the battle of Catraeth. As we have seen, he is named in the *Historia Brittonum* as one of the British kings who resisted the Angles, and Madog Elfed (i.e. Madog of Elfed) is included among the heroes of *Y Gododdin* (line 918).

However, the most recent editor of *Moliant Cadwallon* (Professor Geraint Gruffydd), understanding *eilywed* as meaning 'destruction' rather than 'grief, sadness, loss', takes the lines in question to be a reference to the 'recapture' of Catraeth, for which Gwallog is given the credit and praised. He comments very appropriately that 'it would be good to know when that occurred', for there is no surviving record of such an event. It may perhaps be worth remarking that Gwallog had long been dead in 634 and his kingdom had disappeared, so that an incidental reference to him in a panegyric to a later king of Gwynedd need not necessarily be understood as laudatory. The 'grief of Catraeth' may well be, as it has usually been understood, a memory of the disaster which befell Mynyddog's war-band.

The Poet

As we have seen, a rubric at the beginning of the A text attributes the composition of the poem to Aneirin: *Hwn yw e gododin: aneirin ae cant* ('This is *Y Gododdin:* Aneirin sang it.') The poet is well attested in the early period, being mentioned in the section of the *Historia Brittonum* which embodies northern traditions and names the four kings Urien, Rhydderch, Gwallog and Morgant. This section is known as the 'Northern History' and a good case has been made for the view that it incorporates notes written by Rhun ab Urien Rheged c. 625-35. If this view is correct the section constitutes an authority of a high order, for Rhun was writing about events which for him and his family were recent history. It refers to Ida, founder of the Northumbrian royal line, who ruled for twelve years (c. 558-70), and to an unknown British ruler Eudeyrn, who was reputed to have fought bravely against the Angles, and then names five poets, Talhaearn Tad Awen (Talhaearn 'Father of the Muse', or 'of Inspiration'), who was 'renowned in poetry', and Neirin, Taliesin, Blwchfardd and Cian, who 'together and at the same time were renowned in British (i.e. Welsh) poetry'. The suggestion appears to be that Talhaearn preceded the other four, at least by a short period, but no verse ascribed to him, or to Blwchfardd or Cian, has survived. Aneirin and Taliesin, however, were regarded in the

Middle Ages as the authors of the poems preserved in the Books of Aneirin and Taliesin.

It will be noted that the form of the poet's name given in this early record was *Neirin*. The addition of the syllable *A-* was a later development. Various derivations have been proposed for the name but that currently favoured is Sir Ifor Williams's suggestion that it is based on a hypothetical form *naer*, cognate with the Irish *nár*, 'noble; modest'. In the stanza entitled 'The Reciter's Prologue', which occurs almost at the beginning of the B text and is here printed as stanza 1, Aneirin is described as the 'son of Dwywai'. The reference is found in both A and B texts, and the latter also states that the 'earth has [now] covered Aneirin'. The stanza is obviously later than the original poem, but its historical value is nevertheless high. Dr T. M. Charles-Edwards has expressed the view that it post-dates the fall of the kingdom of Gododdin but is earlier than the *Historia Brittonum*, and describes it as possibly 'the earliest external evidence for the poet, and . . . certainly by far the earliest external evidence for his authorship of the poem'. The allusion to Dwywai appears to link Aneirin with the royal houses of the North, for according to the early genealogies a Dwywai was the daughter of Lleynnog and therefore the sister of Gwallog. She was also said to be the wife of Dunod Fwr and the mother of Deinioel, the patron saint of Bangor, who according to the *Annales Cambriae* died in 584. If Aneirin was a younger brother of Deinioel his dates could fit very well those of a poet composing in the late sixth or early seventh century. A member of the Coeling, he was, like Urien Rheged, descended in the fifth generation from the northern founder-figure Coel Hen or Coel Godebog. There is no record that Aneirin was the son of Dunod, father of Deinioel, but he too was a descendant of Coel. The 'sons of Godebog' are mentioned in a problematical passage in stanza 16 (see note on line 144). This has been understood as meaning that several of the descendants of Coel lent their support to the Gododdin at the battle of Catraeth but there is no genealogy which connects Mynyddog with the family of Coel. It is however possible that Aneirin, like Taliesin, had migrated from his original home to become court poet in another realm. His parentage on his mother's side, and his uncle Gwallog's possible

association with the battle which provided him with a subject for his verse, suggest that he could have been from the kingdom of Elfed. All these possibilities, however, are based on a small number of references found in texts of a much later date than the period in question, and as a consequence must remain speculative. It may be added that the view that Gwallog was 'ruler of Elfed' rests on the interpretation of a single and rather uncertain line in a poem to him in the Book of Taliesin.

In addition to the reference to Aneirin in the 'Reciter's Prologue', his name occurs in stanza 49, where he speaks in the first person and declares that he has been imprisoned in an 'earthy' (i.e. 'underground') dwelling, lying chained 'beneath the feet of hairy slugs'. He calls Taliesin to witness, however, that he sang *Y Gododdin* before the dawn of the following day. In the succeeding stanza he avers that he was rescued from his imprisonment, 'from a place of death, from enemy land' (491), by Cenau son of Llywarch. Although Llywarch Hen and his sons, one of whom was called Cenau, were contemporaries of Aneirin and members of the Coeling, it is unlikely that any relationship existed between them and the Gododdin. Stanzas 49 and 50 are probably additions to the original poem and reflect an incipient saga concerning the person of Aneirin. We may compare further references which suggest a development in the direction of saga in stanza 22, line 247, in which Aneirin states that he escaped from the battle of Catraeth, together with three others, 'on account of [his] fair song', and in lines 1117-18 of the *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn, according to which a ransom was paid for him 'of pure gold and steel and silver'. These statements are clearly not consistent with each other. To them may be added line 8 of the 'Reciter's Prologue', which tells of the slaying of Aneirin, but this could not have occurred at Catraeth, i.e. before the composition of *Y Gododdin*. However, in the medieval Triads, which embody early narrative tradition, it is asserted that 'Heidyn son of Enygan slew Aneirin of Flowing Verse, Prince of Poets'. According to a variant Heidyn used a wood-axe to execute the deed. The titles attached to Aneirin's name, *Gwawdrydd, Mechdeyrn Beirdd*, were no doubt intended to promote his fame in competition with Taliesin, who was

known as *Pen Beirdd*, 'Chief of Poets'. It is clear that saga tended to grow around the names of both poets, but in the case of Aneirin only a minimal amount has been preserved as compared with Taliesin. There are however indications that at some stage Aneirin was credited, like Taliesin, with the attributes of a seer, as is shown by the description *mab coel*, 'son of prophecy', applied to him in line 1117. Furthermore, in manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century onwards he appears in the guise of moralist and philosopher, and a number of late poems embodying gnomic and proverbial matter as well as observations on nature and religion are ascribed to him (see pp. lxvii; lxxxi).

If we leave all speculation and late tradition aside, however, Aneirin is an obscure figure. It is probable that all we can be reasonably certain of knowing concerning him is that he existed, that he functioned as a poet in the kingdom of the Gododdin, and that at an early date the authorship of an elegiac poem on the warriors who fell at the battle of Catraeth was attributed to him. It is also arguable that in *Y Gododdin* we possess this poem, at least in part or vestigially. Despite his probable high lineage, Aneirin was clearly not one of the three hundred chosen warriors who fought and fell at Catraeth. In Sir Ifor Williams's view *Y Gododdin* is an elegy for heroes personally known to the poet, and whose loss he felt deeply. In line 27 he describes Ywain as a 'beloved friend' and in 90 declares that he has lost 'a friend': the same word, *cyfaill*, occurs again in 666 and 891. In stanzas 80 and 86 he expresses his own personal sorrow at the outcome of the battle. The reference in line 550 to the loss he has suffered of his 'true kinsmen' might suggest that Aneirin was himself a man of the Gododdin, but in view of his apparent parentage it would perhaps be permissible to understand *carant* ('kinsmen') figuratively rather than literally.

Despite the references, cited above, to Aneirin's escape from Catraeth on account of his muse or 'fair song', to his rescue from imprisonment by Cenau son of Llywarch, and to the ransom of gold and steel and silver paid for him, the question whether or not he witnessed the battle which his poem celebrated is entirely speculative. It would perhaps be more to the point to try to imagine the situation in the court at Din Eidyn when news arrived of the disaster which

had occurred. What was the immediate, and the later, reaction? Was the threat to the very existence of the Gododdin perceived? When was the need for a formal elegiac tribute to the fallen warriors first felt? We do not know, but we must disabuse ourselves of any idea that Aneirin 'wrote' his poem as a modern poet would. There is no evidence that Welsh was a written language in that age. Poetry was composed in the mind, without the aid of pen and paper, preserved through oral recitation, and by this means transmitted from generation to generation. The poet's memory itself was no doubt stored with earlier poems, from which he derived expressions, phrases and images to be used anew. The task of composing *Y Gododdin* was probably lengthy and extended. Its creation, as well as its ceremonial declamation, were functions of the communal life, and contributed to the consciousness of tribal cohesion and identity. In a sense the poem was never 'completed', but was continually augmented as poets in succeeding generations during its oral transmission made their own additions to it.

The Poem

Among the hundred and three stanzas of *Y Gododdin* in Sir Ifor Williams's edition are included three interpolated stanzas (see below, p. lxi) which have no relevance to the matter of the poem. That edition also gives variant forms of stanzas in full, but not separate numeration to the variants. Had this been done, Sir Ifor's edition would be found to contain, not a hundred and three stanzas, but a hundred and thirty. In the present edition of a hundred stanzas, and 987 lines as opposed to Sir Ifor's 1257, a few stanzas and parts of stanzas have been omitted as too obscure or uncertain in meaning to justify an attempt at translation, and in most cases variant readings have been conflated in order to produce a single text. Whether the right or most acceptable choice of readings has been made is, of course, very much a matter of opinion, but the reader who wishes to pursue the matter will be able to consult the Notes for the variants. In a few cases, however, variant

stanzas have been printed separately (cf. p. xv). It should be emphasized that the prime aim of this edition is to present *Y Gododdin* as a work of literature to as wide a reading public as possible, and to do so in a readable form in the original Welsh as well as in translation. Moreover, the text as presented here is that of the poem as it was conceived of at the time it was written in the manuscript in which it has been preserved, or shortly before that date. To have attempted to produce a text of *Y Gododdin* in its early or original form would have been a task so speculative as to be unprofitable in the present state of our knowledge.

The division of *Y Gododdin* into stanzas is the poem's most obvious formal characteristic, and it is one which differentiates it from the *awdlau* attributed to Taliesin, which consist normally of some thirty or forty or more lines of praise poetry. The stanzaic form no doubt appeared to be a more suitable medium for a series of elegies commemorating a host of heroes, while the longer *awdl* was regarded as more fitting for sustained panegyric. The stanzas of *Y Gododdin* too are sometimes known as *awdlau* and their characteristics will be discussed more fully below (pp. lxxv-lxxix).

Y Gododdin is not a narrative poem and therefore, although its contents are concerned with the exploits and fame of heroes, it does not qualify for the description 'epic'. The events around which it revolves, however, were reasonably simple and uncomplicated, namely the decision of Mynyddog, lord of Din Eidyn, to send an army to attack the Anglian enemy, known as Deifr and Brynaich (Deirans and Bernicians) and the subsequent defeat and annihilation of his forces at Catraeth. As we have seen, the evidence of the poem is that Mynyddog assembled a war-band or retinue or *comitatus* of chosen warriors from both the Gododdin lands and other adjoining kingdoms, including also several from northern Wales, and entertained them for a year in the celebrated 'feast of Mynyddog'. At the end of this period the members of the war-band, three hundred in number, 'paid their mead' (cf. lines 32, 614), i.e. fulfilled their obligations to their chieftain by fighting to the death. Of those who set forth on the expedition, according to some stanzas, none returned (32, 33, 88), according to others, one (56, 57, 76, 87). No doubt the year

of feasting included preparation, equipping and training but nothing so prosaic and unpoetic is referred to in the poem, which is solely concerned with the sadness and the glory of the occasion. The absence of Mynyddog himself from the expedition is an odd and somewhat inexplicable feature of the story, which has already been mentioned. Professor Jackson concludes that 'he was either too old or too ill' to lead his men to battle, but considerations of age, at least, do not appear to have deterred his contemporaries Urien, described in the Taliesin poetry as 'grey' and 'white-haired', and Aedán mac Gabráin, who was seventy when he led his army against Ethelfrith in 603, from personal involvement in combat. In *Y Gododdin* Mynyddog is an intangible background presence, whose fiat nevertheless governs the lives of his warriors and impels them to action which ends in ineluctable disaster. It has been conjectured (partly on the basis of the phrase *mynog lluyddog* in line 711) that he can be identified with Lleuddin Lluyddog, the eponym of Lothian, but the suggestion must remain very speculative.

As a general rule each stanza of *Y Gododdin* is an elegy, and also a eulogy, for a single hero, whose name is usually given in the stanza, in most cases in the last line or couplet. Frequently the hero's father is also mentioned. In some stanzas a number of heroes are named together, while in others no personal names are given but the entire war-band of the Gododdin is mourned. In the text of the poem as printed in this volume the references to the heroes and the stanzas in which they occur are as follows: Ywain son of Marro (2), Madog (3), Cadfannan (4), Gwefrfawr son of Ysgyrran (5), Hyfaidd Hir (6), the son of Bodgad (7), Rheithfyw (8), Gwrol (?) son of Cian from Maen Gwyngwn (10, see note), Neirthiad (13), Tudfwlch Hir son of Cilydd (14), Erthgi (15), Tudfwlch and Cyfwlch Hir (16), Blaen (17), Gwrwelling (18), Cynri, Cynon and Cynrain of Aeron (19), Cydywal son of Sywno (20), Breichiawl (21), the two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon (22), Llifiau (23), Llif son of Cian from beyond Bannog (24), Graid son of Hoywgi (25), Buddfan son of Bleiddfan (26), Gwenabwy son of Gwen (27), Marchlew (28), Isag son of Gwyddnau from the southern part (29), Ceredig (30), Ceredig (31), Caradog, Ywain son of Eulad, Gwrien, Gwyn and Gwriad (32),

Caradog, Madog, Pyll, Ieuan, Gwgon, Gwion, Gwyn, Cynfan, Peredur, Gwawrddur and Aeddan (33), Gwlgod Gododdin (34), Rhufon Hir (35), Morien, Cynon and Gwid son of Peithan (36), Morien son af Caradog and the son of Fferog (37), Cynon (38), Cynon son of Clydno (39), Eithinyn (40), Eithinyn (41), Eithinyn son of Boddw Adaf (42), Eithinyn (43), Beli and Cadfannan (44), Gwyddien, Morien, Bradwen and Gwenabwy son of Gwen (45), Bradwen (46), Cynhafal (47), Gwynfyd (? 48, see note), Cenau son of Llywarch (? 50, see note), Heilyn (51), Rhys (52), Cynwal (53), Addonwy (54), Cadfannan (58), Merin son of Madiain (59), Merin (60), Tudfwlch (61), Tudfwlch (62), Cibno (63), Gwaednerth son of Llywri (64), Cynon (65), Cynddilig Aeron (66), Madog (68), Gwrhafal (70), Ywain (71), Pobddelw (? 74, see note), Erf (75), Mynog Gododdin (76), Moried (77), Cynddilig Aeron (78), the son of Ceidio (79), Rhufon, Gwgon, Gwion and Gwlged (80), Tafloyw (81), Tyngyr (82), Geraint (83), Eiddef (84), Gorthyn Hir son of Urfai, from the uplands of Rhufoniog (85), Gwair Hir son of Fferfarch (86), Bleiddig son of Eli (89), Gwaednerth (91), Madog Elfed (93), Cynon (94), Heinif son of Nwython (95), Bubon (96), Urfai son of Golystan (97), Edar (98), Gwawrddur (99), Cibno son of Gwengad (100).

If we add to this list four warriors named in stanzas omitted from this edition (Grugyn, Morial, Rheiddun (?), and Heidyn (?)), we have a record of the names of some eighty members of Mynyddog's war-band of three hundred. We cannot, of course, be certain that the Madog mentioned in stanzas 3, 33 and 68 is to be identified with Madog Elfed (93) or whether the Ywain named in 71 was, or was not, a different person from Ywain the son of Marro (2) or Ywain son of Eulad (32). Llifiau (23) and Llif (24) are presumably identical. Again, it is uncertain whether Pobddelw in 74 and 75 is to be understood as the name of one of the warriors, or whether the phrase *bro Pobddelw* is a designation of the territory whence he came. A few of the names occur in Welsh tradition apart from *Y Gododdin*. Peredur (33) is a famous Arthurian name, but this hero cannot be identical with the Peredur of the Welsh romance or the Peredur said in the *Annales Cambriae* to have died in 580. The names Bradwen (45, 46, 54) and Morien (36, 37, 45, 54) appear to be linked together in the poem, and in the

medieval tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* we meet a Bradwen, son of 'Moren Mynog', as well as 'Moren Mynog himself', and also a Bradwen who was a brother of Moren. A northern Nwython figures in the same tale. Gwlgod Gododdin (34), apparently Mynyddog's steward who arranged the feast for the three hundred warriors, also makes his appearance in *Culhwch* as the owner of a horn required to pour drink at the wedding-feast of the hero and heroine. Without doubt the most outstanding name in the list is that of Cynon (19, 22, 36, 38, 39, 65, 94), described in stanza 39 as the son of Clydno. According to lines 629 and 921 he was associated with Aeron, i.e. Ayrshire, a territory mentioned in the Taliesin poetry as receiving the protection of Urien, and in a detailed study of the references in *Y Gododdin* to Cynon Dr Rachel Bromwich has argued that he was an eminent hero of the Coeling, who had joined Mynyddog's war-band and suffered the fate of all its members. Sir Ifor Williams thought that he could have been the one survivor mentioned in certain stanzas, but there is no support in the text for this view, apart from the dubious reference in stanza 22 to the escape of 'the two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon', together with the poet, from the battle, and a similar statement in lines 1111-16 (*Gorchan Cynfelyn*), which names 'Cynon and Cadraith and Cadlew of Cadnant' as three who returned with the poet from his 'bloodletting'. These two texts give the number of the war-band as 'three men and three score and three hundred', as also does a prose rubric found in the manuscript between the *Gorchanau* of Cynfelyn and Maeldderw. References such as these, as Sir Ifor Williams suggests, were no doubt interpolations and the products of an obsession with rhetorical triadic elaboration. With them may be compared lines 191 and 877 which refer to 'three hounds and three hundred', as if the war-band consisted of three hundred men and three leaders, who are named in lines 205-6 as Cynri, Cynon, and Cynrain of Aeron. Factual discrepancies of this kind were inevitable in an orally transmitted poem like *Y Gododdin*, but their presence does not affect its validity as a work of literature. Cynon's pre-eminence as a warrior is, however, asserted in stanzas such as 19 and 65, and his fame emphasized elsewhere. In the *Stanzas of the Graves* in the Black Book of Carmarthen his grave is said to be, not at Catraeth,

but in *Rheon Ryd* (a place of uncertain location), and it was this statement that suggested to Sir Ifor Williams the possibility that Cynon was the survivor of the battle. During the Middle Ages he was absorbed into the Arthurian complex and played the leading role as one of Arthur's knights in the introductory part of the Welsh romance of *Owain*. The poet Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (fl.c. 1155-1200) names him, together with Benlli Gawr and Arthur, as one of the mighty warriors of yore. Cynon was the only member of Mynyddog's war-band to achieve such literary distinction. In sober fact, of course, we do not know whether there were any survivors of the battle of Catraeth. The heroic poet's view of the battle no doubt required that there should have been no survivors, or at least none of eminence. But Dr Bromwich has suggested that the concept of a sole survivor was a saga element which attached itself at an early date to traditions of the battle. In saga, though not in heroic verse, this concept would serve to intensify the sense of dismay at the extent of the carnage which had occurred. A similar effect is conveyed by the report in the *Mabinogi* that, of Bendigeidfran's entire army, only seven returned from the ill-fated expedition to Ireland.

A few of the remaining names, such as Gwrien (32), Gwriad (32), Morien (36, 37, 45, 54) and Bradwen (45, 46, 54) occur also in the *Stanzas of the Graves*, and other poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen mention an Edar (98) and a Gwenabwy (27, 45). It has been suggested that by Geraint (83), for whom a cry was raised 'before the men of the South', was meant the Dumnonian prince Geraint who flourished c. 580/600. While the dates tally, it would be difficult to find positive evidence for this identification and it is unlikely that a youth who fell at Catraeth would have been accorded such eminence in later Welsh tradition (cf. note on line 821). The reference in stanza 50 to Cenau son of Llywarch has already been mentioned as probably belonging to a saga element added to the poem (see also note on line 492). The practice of naming both the hero and his father is fairly frequent (cf. also Gwen, a mother's name, in 27 and 45), but occasionally only the name of the hero's father is given, as in the 'son of Bodgad' (7), the 'son of Fferog' (37) and the 'son of Ceidio' (79). It has been sur-

mised that Gwenddolau ap Ceidio, who fell at the battle of Arfderydd c. 573 according to the *Annales Cambriae*, had a younger brother who could have fought at Catraeth, but it should be remembered that between twenty and thirty years probably separated the two battles. If the younger brother was twenty years of age c. 595-600, he would have been born after the death of Gwenddolau (cf. note on line 763).

Many of the names in the list are common or fairly common, or at least otherwise known in the Welsh tradition. Such are Gwyn (32, 33), Gwion (33, 80), Ieuan (33), Caradog (32, 33, 37), Gwgon (33, 80), Rhufon (35, 80), Rhys (52). It might be argued that, as a number of these occur together, they represent an interpolation or addition to the poem from a Welsh source. Other names are not known in Welsh tradition apart from *Y Gododdin*, e.g. Addonwy (54), Bubon (96), Cibno (63, 100), Eithinyn (40, 41, 42, 43), Urfai (97, cf. 85), and numerous others. Many names, such as Blaen (17, 'Foremost'), Bleiddig (89, 'Wolflike'), Erthgi (15, 'Bear-hound'), Hyfaidd (6, 'Bold'), Neirthiad (13, 'Strengthener, Sustainer') are expressive of the warriors' ferocity or military qualities. In 28 a Cadlew ('Battle-brave', cf. also line 1115) is named as the authority for the praise lavished on Marchlew. An interesting group of names is that of famous heroes, apparently not always members of the war-band, who are cited as examples, or paragons of excellence and prowess, for emulation. Thus, in 40, Eithinyn is said to press forward 'like Elffin' and in 59 Merin son of Madiain is described as 'a lord worthy of Neddig'. Both Bradwen and Morien appear to have been members of the war-band, but in 54 the two are set up as standards of comparison to measure the valour of Addonwy, and there is a similar reference to Morien in 37. But the most notable name in this group is that of Arthur in stanza 99, which praises Gwawrddur for feeding black ravens (i.e. slaying the enemy) 'though he was no Arthur'. This famous reference is found in the B text and can thus claim a respectable antiquity (i.e. at latest pre-twelfth century), but the exact date of its composition cannot be ascertained (see note on line 972). Another name rooted in sixth-century tradition, but totally unrelated to the matter of *Y Gododdin*, is found in stanza 45, which declares that

'Morien defended the fair song of Myrddin'. No person named Morien is found associated with the original legend of Myrddin (later Merlin), which first crystallized around the battle of Arfderydd (c. 573), fought about a hundred miles from the centre of the Gododdin territory. But in a poem entitled *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei Chwaer* ('The Conversation of Myrddin and his Sister Gwenddydd'; 10th-11th century?) reference is made to the deaths of Morgenau, Morial, Mordaf and Morien Mur Trin ('M. Wall of Battle'). The initial syllable *Mor-* appears to link these names with Myrddin (*Myr-* < *Mori-*), but the significance of the linkage is not clear. The name Myrddin appears in the A, but not in the B, text of stanza 45 and may have been inserted therein by a scribe who was familiar with the reference to Morien in the *Cyfoesi* to replace an Old Welsh form which he did not understand (see further the note on lines 443-4).

As printed here, the text of *Y Gododdin* contains some thirty place-names, most of which may be located, or presumed to be located, in northern Britain. A few, such as *Aeron* (Ayr(shire), line 206, etc.), *Catraeth* (Catterick, 78, etc.), *Din Eidyn* (Edinburgh, 897), *Eidyn (idem*, 123, etc.), *Elfed* (Elmet, 918), *Gododdin* (the tribal territory, 67, etc.), *Gogledd* (the North, 53, 485), present no difficulty. *Bannawg* (260), a name preserved in the 'Bannock Burn', has been shown by Professor Jackson to be 'the massif which almost entirely blocks the narrow land neck of Scotland between Stirling and Dumbarton, consisting of the Fintry, Kilsyth, Campsie, and Kilpatrick Hills', and the same authority has also shown that *Iddew* (944) probably meant Stirling, *Merin Iddew* (ibid.) being the Firth of Forth. *Dehau*, the 'South', or 'men of the South' (303, 821), probably refers to areas to the south of the Gododdin territory, such as Rheged or Elfed, rather than to southern or south-western England (see notes on these lines). *Lloegr*, 'England' or a part thereof, a name of uncertain derivation, is mentioned in 451 and 899. The exact significance of *Ynys Brydain*, the 'Island of Britain' (163), would be difficult to define. *Bancarw* (509), *Bryn Hyddwn* (334), *Eleirch Fre* (279), *Gwanannon* (414, 647, 705), *Maen Gwyngwn* (93), *Rhyd Benclwyd* (861) and *Uffin* (759) were all probably places in the North, whether within or with-

out Gododdin territory, but they have hitherto defied all attempts to locate them.

The occurrence of names such as Madog of Elfed and Cynon, Cynri and Cynrain of Aeron among the warriors of the war-band of the Gododdin shows that Mynyddog had succeeded in attracting support for his expedition from outside the borders of his kingdom. The hero of stanza 24, described as 'a foreign horseman', who came from 'beyond Bannog', was without doubt a Pict. The warriors from furthest afield, however, were the small group from various areas of northern Wales. Stanza 5 contains a reference to the coming (together ?) of 'the men of Gwynedd and the northern part', but it is difficult to interpret and may consist merely of a rhetorical emphasis on the hero's prowess. In stanza 20 Cydywal the son of Sywno is said to have charged 'in the forefront of the men of Gwynedd'. The stanza also asserts that 'he slew both Athrwys and Affrai' (if these are proper names). The anonymous hero of stanza 73, described as 'a man of Gwynedd' and 'the steadfast war-avid one of Gwynedd', is stated to have been buried at Gwanannon on 'the borderland of Gododdin', which might fit the region of Catraeth. The name *Pobddelw* in stanzas 74 and 75 could possibly be a link with the ancient kingdom of Dunoding in Gwynedd (see note on line 715). The hero of stanza 85 is Gorthyn Hir 'from the uplands of Rhufoniog', whose 'war-horses and blood-stained armour were seen around the (river) Aled'. He was also 'lord of the men of Gwynedd', the son of Urfai (not the Urfai mentioned in line 954), of the blood of Cilydd Gwaredog, and thus possibly related to Tudfwlch son of Cilydd. The stanza gives him a full, though conventional, portrayal as one who was 'a death to every champion' in battle but at the New Year feast was approachable by 'a lady and a maiden and a lord'. Again Tudfwlch, whose name appears in stanzas 14, 16, 61 and 62, is the subject of the entire poem *Gorchan Tudfwlch* which, in a passage here omitted, associates him with Eifionydd in Gwynedd (CA 50, line 1272) and also refers to *Tâl Henban*, a place-name which occurs in Eifionydd (see note on line 1021). In line 1058 this poem also names 'Teithfyw from Môn'. It should further be noted that the third *Gorchan*, that of Cynfelyn, states of its hero that 'Gwynedd was his land' (line 1100).

There can be no doubt that these references to the support given by men of Gwynedd to Mynyddog's war-band must be related to the tradition of the migration of Cunedda to Wales in the fourth or fifth century. If memories of their northern ancestry had persisted among some of the descendants of his followers, and particularly if relations with the Gododdin had in any degree continued to be cultivated, a decision by certain members of the warrior class in Gwynedd to intervene in the northern conflict was not surprising. Interventions in northern affairs on a considerable scale did, in fact, occur in the course of the seventh century. Any stanzas celebrating heroes from Gwynedd would have been particularly esteemed when the poem arrived in Wales (assuming indeed that they are not later interpolations), and the *Gorchanau* of Tudfwlch and Cynfelyn may represent a cult which had developed within Gwynedd in honour of these two heroes (cf. above, p. xix).

Quite apart from the group from Gwynedd, many of the members of the war-band are depicted as men of substance, lords, even 'kings', in their own localities and their munificence as patrons is emphasized. Gwenabwy's liberality would be confirmed by the minstrels of his court on New Year's Day (stanza 27) and Isag's bounty was 'like the flowing sea' (29). Rhufon Hir is praised because he 'gave gold to the altar, and gifts and handsome largesse to the minstrel' (35). Geraint was 'a bountiful prince', 'of the sea's liberality' (83). They were also men of established military reputation and the references to their warlike exploits frequently appear to describe their performance, not at Catraeth, but in previous battles and campaigns. Thus in stanza 15 Erthgi is praised as a man on whose land there was 'a stronghold of shields'. Although he 'struck with blades above the bloodshed' he lived to humble himself in his court. In 44 Beli is lauded for his success as a raider of the cattle-herds of the enemy, and according to 95 Heinif son of Nwython slew a hundred gold-torqued princes in order to achieve fame. The heroes who assembled at the court of Eidyn were a warrior aristocracy, whose members were not inferior to Mynyddog himself either in gentility of demeanour or in renown for martial qualities.

The generic name for those who supported Mynyddog, including of course the men of Gwynedd, is *Brython*, 'Britons', a form which occurs in lines 204, 209, 637 and 923. The name *Cymry*, literally 'fellow-countrymen, compatriots', although believed to have been a product of the sub-Roman period (400-600), is not used. The enemy is referred to as *Deifr* (60, 208, 498) or *Dewr* (561, 577, 950), variously 'Deira' or 'men of Deira'; *Brynaich* (60, 88, 498), similarly 'Bernicia' or 'men of Bernicia'; *Lloegrwys* (264, 536, 702), 'men of England'; and *Saeson* (126, 532), 'Saxons', although strictly they were Angles. The name *Eingl*, 'Angles', occurs once in a passage, here omitted, in the *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn (CA 53, line 1351).

A characteristic of the poem is the presence within it of several series or chains of stanzas each commencing with a repeated formulaic line. These are *Caeog, Cynhorog* (3, 5-6, varied by *Caeog, Cynifiad* in 4), *Gŵyr a aeth Ododdin* (7-8), *Gŵyr a aeth Gatraeth* (9-16, 22, 35), *Yfais i win a medd ym mordai* (20-1; with *ti* for *i* in 21?, see notes on lines 212 and 231), *Ceredig caradwy* (30-1), *Gŵyr a grysiasant* (33-4), *Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd* (36-9), *Disgynsid yn nhrwm* (40-2, 44), *Am drynni drylaw drylen* (45-6), *O winfaeth a meddfaeth* (56-7), *Angor, Dewr daen* (59-61), *Erddlyedaf canu* (63, 65-6; *Arddyledog ganu*, 64, 67), *Moch arwyraith* (69-70). A few of the stanzas have been misplaced, such as 22 and 35, but 22, as we have seen, shows features of lateness. The first three stanzas commencing with *Disgynsid yn nhrwm* (40-2) are in praise of the same hero, Eithinyn, who is also the subject of stanza 43, which opens with the words *Gŵyr gormant*. Stanza 44, however, reverts to the *Disgynsid* formula in praise of another hero, Cadfannan. The first two stanzas of *Angor, Dewr daen*, are in praise of Merin, but the subject of the third stanza in the series (61) is Tudfwlch, who is also the subject of 62, which commences with the words *Llafnawr lledrudd* despite later correspondences with the *Angor, Dewr daen* series. These chains of stanzas with identical initial phrases or lines, which have been studied in detail by Professor Jackson, were a common feature of early and medieval Welsh verse, and provided undoubted opportunities for incremental elaboration and possible textual corruption. It will be noted, however, that well over half of the stanzas of *Y Gododdin*, as here printed, lie outside these chains.

Other kinds of repetition also occur. Cadfannan is praised in widely separated stanzas (4, 44 and 58), as are Cibno (63, 100), Cynddilig Aeron (66, 78), Gwaednerth (64, 91), Gwenabwy (27, 45) and Madog (3, 68, ? 93). Of the group of eleven warriors named in 33, six are mentioned in other stanzas: for instance, the names Gwgon and Gwion appear consecutively in both 33 and 80. This contrasts with the practice in some parts of the poem of devoting a series of stanzas to the same hero, e.g. Eithinyn (40, 41, 42, 43) and Ceredig (30, 31). In the case of Madog the same statement in almost identical wording is made about him in stanzas 3 and 68 (lines 37-9 and 659-61). The repetition of the phrase *Nis adrawdd Gododdin* (lines 253, 261, 461), or *Neus adrawdd Gododdin* (37, 659) should also be noted, cf. *Nis adrawdd a fo byw* (458), *Nis adrawdd Cibno* (616), *Nis adrawdd gwryd rhag Gododdin* (762). The question asked in lines 207-10, *Gogyferchi ynnon, ... A ddyfu o Frython Ŵr well no Chynon* is echoed by the statement in 637-8, *Oedd odid ym mid o barth Brython Gododdin o bell gwell no Chynon*. Further examples of the repetition of phrases are: 98, *Ef gorsaf wriaf*, cf. 771, *Gŵyr gorsaf wriaf*; 102, *Medd yfynt melyn melys maglawr*, cf. 700, *Dyrllyddai medd melys maglawr*; 745, *A'n dyrllys moled medd melys maglawr*; 381, *Dyrllyddai feddgyrn aillt Mynyddog*, cf. 864, *Dyrllyddai feddgyrn un mab Fferfarch*; 565, *Arth arwynawl*, cf. 984, *Arth arwynawl*; 385, *Y neb a wanai, nid adwenid*, cf. 962, *Nid adwanai, rywanai, rywaned*. The phrases *Arf anghynnull, anghyman ddull* (263) are also found at the commencement of *Gorchan Tudfwlch* (1014-15). The idea contained in 345, *A chyd lleseint, wy lladdasan* is repeated in 867, *Cyd ryladded wy, wy lladdasant*, and similarly that found in 32, *Diffun ymlaen bun*, is again expressed, using a different adjective, in 687, *Dysgïawr pan fai bun*, while 388, *Rhagfuan ei feirch*, is perhaps verbally echoed in 830, *Rhagorai feirch rhagfuan*, though the statements made in the two lines are not identical. Line 78, *Gŵyr a aeth Gatraeth, oedd ffraeth eu llu* is in effect repeated in 542, *Rhag Catraeth oedd ffraeth eu llu*. In certain cases it might be argued that the use of such stock phrases and formulaic expressions merely shows that

some stanzas were composed as imitations of others, which they therefore post-date. The phrases and formulae were, however, part of an inherited tradition within which the poet of eulogy and elegy worked.

Heroic Society and the Heroic Ideal

Y Gododdin is a poem which mirrors the life of a warlike society governed by martial ideals and heroic concepts of behaviour. The earlier section on the background of the poem will have served to emphasize the aptness of Sir Ifor Williams's description of the Gododdin as a 'frontier tribe', a community of 'men mighty in war, familiar with battle and bloodshed, delighting above all else in valour; in a word, a warlike aristocracy with the virtues and defects of such a society' (CA xxi). The literature produced by early societies of this kind was studied in seminal works such as *The Heroic Age* by H. M. Chadwick (1912) and *The Growth of Literature*, vol. 1, by H. M. and N. K. Chadwick (1932), in which the poems attributed to Aneirin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, etc., were considered in their appropriate historical and literary context alongside of comparable works of a heroic character found in the other four 'Ancient Literatures of Europe', Old Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Ancient Greek. The basic concept underlying early heroic literature has been summarized thus by Jackson: 'It carries with it an implication of a social setting; a military aristocratic society, whether of a primitive or a more highly developed kind, in which the real *raison d'être*, and the chief interest, of the nobility is warfare, and for which the accepted morality is courage and fierceness in war, generosity and liberality in peace, a longing for fame, a horror of disgrace, and a welcome for death provided it leads to immortal glory' (*God.*, 38). The extent to which such societies have actually existed in the past, and the degree of the domination of ideals of an uncompromisingly martial and heroic character over them, is a matter for historians. In literature, however, there are many works devoted to the full expression of the heroic ideal, and among them *Y Gododdin* is an outstanding example. While the poem is in form an elegy and is shot through with a sense of the sadness of the losses it records, it is also a eulogy, a poem of

celebration, a paean of praise for the warriors who attained undying fame by their utter fidelity to their chieftain and their dauntless and unyielding courage in battle. It was in these terms that the poet of *Y Gododdin* viewed his world.

Straight statements asserting the ferocity of the warriors abound in *Y Gododdin*. Madog (line 34) gave no quarter to as many as he pursued. Neirthiad, spurning all talk of peace, made a blood-bath and death for his adversary (111-12). Erthgi tore and cut with spearpoints (136). The poet makes a jest of the quantity of blood shed by Breichiawl (235-7). By the deeds of his hand Caradog fed the wolves (330). Through his fury, Merin brought a feast for the birds (of carrion) from the uproar of battle (571-3). Bradwen was so ferocious and powerful that he '[held] a wolf's mane without spear in his hand' (452). Gwaednerth was a warrior who longed for war and tirelessly rushed thereto in whatever land he heard tidings of it (622-3). Gwrhafal slew the enemy pitilessly with fierce swift sword-strokes (677-80). The metaphors used in the poem are almost invariably employed to emphasize the ferocity of the warriors, and frequently do so in terms of the animal world. Thus Eithinyn is described as a bull of combat (406, 411), as is Erf (727). Caradog, after being compared to a wild boar (328), is then stated to be a bull of an army (329), as is also an unnamed warrior of Gwynedd (707). Bleiddig is declared to be the 'fury of a boar' (882). Gwefrfawr is described as 'a wolf in fury' (49) and Tudfwlch as the 'wolf of the host' (603). The term *bleiddiad*, literally 'wolfish warrior', is also applied in the same line to Tudfwlch. Blaen is said to be a 'bear in manner' (159), and both Merin and Cibno are described as *arth arwynawl*, 'fearful' or 'terrible bear' (565, 984). Cynon is referred to as a 'serpent on the enemies' path' (211), and the metaphor of the 'serpent with the terrible sting' is used in stanzas which refer respectively to Merin and Tudfwlch (562, 588). The forty-fourth stanza, which praises Beli and Cadfannan, uses the ox and boar metaphors (430, 431), and several warriors are described as 'eagles' (274, 440, 508, 828), while Cadfannan's charge against the enemy is likened to 'the swoop of an eagle in the estuaries when fed' (41). A 'lion's fury' is attributed to Cynon in 392 and in 945 Bubon is said to have been 'three times fiercer than a savage lion'. Three warriors are described as 'three hounds'

in 191, 328 and 877, and in 583 the host mustering is said to be composed of 'baying hounds'. Line 806 describes Geraint as a 'celebrated stag'.

The impression of ferocity conveyed by these instances of animal imagery is augmented by many metaphors of a more general character which also stress the strength and steadfastness of the Gododdin warriors. The battle itself is described as a 'blood-bath' for the enemy in 112. An unnamed warrior is said to be a 'pike in the turmoil' (719). Mynog of Gododdin is *arial fflam*, 'the spirit of flame' or 'fire' (731). The image of the warrior as a 'reaper' is used several times (171, 174, 301, 621, 691). In one instance (301) the poet, using an arresting simile, declares that 'as a reaper strikes in unsettled weather, so Marchlew would cause blood to flow'. Of the metaphors used to represent the warriors' strength, resilience and steadfastness the commonest is that of the wall or rampart (8, 310, 406, 411, 575, 596, 608). Others include the door as 'protector' or 'stronghold' (*dôr*, 395, 466; *tewddor*, 733), the fortress or refuge (*caer*, 597, 609; *din*, 466; *dinas*, 377, 394, 468), the palisade (974), the anchor (395, 561, 577, 587, 827), the shield (319, 738, 887), the pillar (77, 669), the bar or lock (629, cf. 597 and 609), the immovable rock (578, 589), the haven (782, 783), the (back)bone (746), the arm (175). Qualities other than mere strength are suggested by the descriptions of Buddfan as 'a tumult on the battle-slope, . . . a fire' (270), of Gwaednerth as 'the sound of fire and thunder and flood-tide' (619), and of Cadfannan as a 'net, snare', i.e. 'ensnarer (of the enemy)' (40). The possession of strength and steadfastness is also indicated by the unusual group of metaphors which refer to Tudfwlch as the 'herb-garden of the war-band' (604) and to the warriors as 'battle-leeks' (174) and 'trees of battle' (613), Cynhafal's excellence is stressed by the description of him as 'gold on the wall of a fortress' (456), and a metaphor lacking any association with warfare is found in 161, which refers to Gwrwelling as 'sunlight on grass'.

As Jackson states in his summary of the concept of heroic behaviour, quoted above, courage and fierceness in war were linked to generosity and liberality in time of peace, and this duality is frequently expressed in *Y Gododdin*, particularly in stanzas which portray individual warriors

as lords or minor potentates in their own right. Armies groaned before Erthgi, but in his court he humbled himself (139-40). Blaen dispensed the drinking-horn on his feather cushion, but in battle was a bear in manner, ever reluctant to retreat (152-9). Gwenabwy left no breach through cowardice, but was a patron of minstrelsy on New Year's Day (284-6). Isag's modesty and liberality were like the flowing sea, although 'his sword resounded in the heads of mothers' (304-9). Rhufon Hir overthrew 'five fifties' of the enemy, but gave gold to the altar and largesse to the minstrel (361-3). In battle the son of Urfai was an arrogant boar, but he provided song at the New Year feast and was approachable by 'a lady and a maiden and a lord' (847-50).

It was, however, the warriors' loyalty to their agreement with their chieftain that furnished the poet with a unifying theme which runs through the poem. The war-band of the Gododdin is referred to six times as *Gosgordd Mynyddog* in the text as here printed (99, 106, 339, 543, 549, 736) and once as *Gosgordd Gododdin* (903). *Ancwyn Mynyddog*, 'Mynyddog's Feast', is mentioned twice (354, 419). It is described as both a wine-feast and a mead-feast (539, 545) and those who participated in it are said to have been 'nurtured on wine and mead' (418). 'In return for mead in the hall and drinking of wine' Eithinyn 'cast his spears between two armies' (408-9). Throughout the poem both the mead and the wine (which are respectively mentioned thirty-four and fifteen times in the present text), but particularly the mead, are treated as symbols of the hospitality, patronage and protection bestowed by the chieftain on the war-band. By 'payment of mead' was meant the warriors' requital, given in the form of unfailing fidelity on the field of battle. The poet, however, saw the mead as 'yellow, sweet, ensnaring' (102). For the warriors it represented a contract of honour but, in fulfilling their obligation, 'they paid for their mead-feast with their lives' (340).

There is, naturally, little mention of cowardice in *Y Gododdin*. It is specifically named in line 284 as a quality which did not belong to the hero. Similarly, line 505 refers to 'warriors who did not show their heels in flight'. According to the A text of one line there were cowards present in Mynyddog's hall, but the reading is uncertain (649, see note). The son of Fferog is described as 'a refuge for a timor-

ous host' (377), and likewise Cynddilig Aeron was 'the backbone of a timid host' (746). Fear is imputed to the enemy in 507. The poem does not assert that the warriors of the Gododdin did not know fear, but rather that as they went to battle their fears departed from their minds (lit. 'moved their dwelling-place', 95, see note). The heroes are said to have gone forth to battle 'heedless of their lives', *enaid ddichwant* (546), and for this they are praised. When Cynon went to battle he was not 'one to escape with his life', *hoedlddianc* (920). The motivation given for this behaviour is not patriotism, or support for a cause, but a desire for enduring fame. Heinif the son of Nwython slew a hundred gold-torqued princes (apparently before the battle of Catraeth) 'so that he might be praised' (927-30). Breichiawl, on account of his deeds, was 'the talk of the world' (239) and Tudfwlch's memory will live long 'among his fair company' (128). The son of Sywno 'sold his life for the mention of honour' (222-4). Cibno was 'the acclaim of a great host' (986). It was the poet's function to bestow undying praise upon the warriors, and 'the poets of the world judged' that the intrepid Buddfan, before he fell, was 'of manly heart' (276). Although the warriors were slain, they slew, and 'until the end of the world they shall be praised' (868).

An elegiac note tends to manifest itself in some of the passages which praise the warriors for their devotion to the heroic ideal. Although much of *Y Gododdin* is a praise poem, it is formally and technically an elegy. The sadness of the warriors' fate is a constant theme. It is wrong, the poet says, that Ywain is beneath a cairn (28). The mead at the feast, though fresh, was bitter, for it led to the 'certain meeting with death' (79-83); and again, though the mead's 'taste was good, its bitterness lasted long' (149). The thirty-third stanza, after naming eleven of the warriors, regrets that 'not one returned to his homeland' (346). The poet is sorrowful for the loss of Eithinyn (420-4). The warriors' lives were short, and 'long their kinsmen's grief for them' (535). Their youthfulness is several times stressed. Charging forward together, they were 'short-lived, drunk over the clarified mead' (338-9). 'Ere they turned grey they were slain' (541). Ywain, though 'in might a man', was 'a youth in years' (11). Before his 'early

burial' Eiddef had feasted over fine mead (832). Occasionally the fall of the warriors is attributed to fate. The soothsayer (*sywiedydd*) is reputed to have known (and presumably to have prophesied) that Cydywal the son of Sywno (a name which also suggests a soothsaying connection) would sell his life for the mention of honour (222-4). A 'wretched fate, an inexorable destiny', was 'ordained' for Tudfwlch and Cyfwlch Hir (146-7). Breichiawl's attack in the border region is referred to as a 'woeful fate' (232). The phrase *ni mad* ('not fortunately') is twice applied to Cynwal (516-18). 'Tyngyr's fate' is mentioned in line 797. Contrastingly, one line describes Eithinyn as 'powerful and fortunate' (415) and, addressing Merin son of Madiain (cf. *mad*, 'fortunate'), the poet avers that 'fortunately wast thou born' (576).

In the poetry of Llywarch Hen (9th/10th cent. ?), while the misfortunes of the aged king are attributed to fate, he himself also blames the deaths of his twenty-four sons on his own overweening pride. All his life, for the sake of honour, he has urged his sons to go forth to battle, until in his forlorn old age disillusion comes upon him and he gives expression to a condemnation of his erstwhile self-centred arrogance. The poet of *Y Gododdin* was not troubled by such considerations. His world was dominated by two attitudes, which did not interpenetrate and cloud each other. One was direct and poignant sorrow at the loss of companions who were dear to him. The other was commendation of their valour and ferocity and readiness to fight to the death, deeming life itself to be of less value than undying fame. *Y Gododdin* is a poem in which this heroic ideal is throughout assumed to be valid, and is sometimes expressed in a pure and undiluted form. To a large extent, like the concept of the 'heroic age' itself, it is a literary ideal. According to the poet of *Y Gododdin*, as he composed his elegy for the fallen warriors, it had sustained them and supplied a motivation for their fateful expedition and impelled them to final action, but to what degree this was in fact true is not a matter on which it is today easy to form a judgement. That Mynyddog Mwynfawr would have equipped and trained his war-band and sent them forth to battle solely in order to achieve immortal glory is hardly credible. For him the survival of his kingdom was at stake

and his plan of campaign was no doubt based on strategic considerations. He would however have expected the members of the war-band to fulfil their obligations to him, to 'pay their mead', and at least to fight to their utmost capability. And this they would have done, whether or not the confrontation between them and the enemy took the form depicted in *Y Gododdin*.

The heroic theme of *Y Gododdin* was, of course, not restricted to any one time or place. In the Homeric world the demands of the code of honour, as exemplified in the cases of Achilles and Hector, were paramount. The Anglo-Saxon *Fight at Finnsburg* refers to the heroes 'who paid a bitter recompense for shining mead'. In the French *Chanson de Roland*, the hero, like Gwên in the Welsh Llywarch Hen saga, refuses to sound his horn in order to summon aid when hard pressed, choosing death instead. Earlier, he had been censured for his readiness to sacrifice the flower of the manhood of France so as to meet the insatiable demands of his own pride. And at times, in moments of high tension, the heroic ideal surfaces in real life. In 1986 a veteran of the action of Mametz Wood during the battle of the Somme in 1916 'recalled an observer saying what a magnificent sight it was seeing the Welsh battalions moving along in a line without wavering until they fell' (*Western Mail*, 1/7/86). In part, at least, the observer's attitude was that of Aneirin. His observation could have translated a couplet of *Y Gododdin*.

Despite the emphasis on the heroic motivation of the warriors, a few references occur to them as defenders of the *patria*. Thus, almost immediately before the statement that 'until the end of the world they shall be praised' (868), the poet says that they were 'defending [their] land' (866). A little later the war-band is said to have been 'defending the groves and mead of Eidyn' (906). According to stanza 97 it was 'usual' for Urfai the son of Golystan 'to defend Gododdin' on a spirited horse (947). And in *Gorchan Tudfwlch* we are told that Tudfwlch repulsed four hosts 'for the sake of the land' (1038). Tudfwlch, however, was a member of the group of warriors from Gwynedd and, according to stanza 14, 'drove the Saxons without ceasing from his land and homesteads' (125-6). These references may perhaps

shed some light on the motives of the men of Gwynedd in joining Mynyddog's war-band.

To revert however, to the main theme of this section, Dr Patrick Sims-Williams has drawn attention to a couplet by Venantius Fortunatus (530-609) offering consolation to a father who had lost two sons in battle: 'Do not grieve heavily that both have fallen like men, for to die for the sake of praise will be to live for ever' (*nec grauiter doleas cecidisse uiriliter ambos, nam pro laude mori uiuere semper erit*). He comments that 'the whole *Gododdin* can be read as an expansion' of the consolation offered. The view expressed in the second line of the couplet is certainly identical with that already noticed in *Y Gododdin*'s references to Cydywal, son of Sywno (223), Breichiawl (239), Buddfan (276), and those who, 'heedless of their lives' (546), went forth to battle 'and until the end of the world shall be praised' (868). It is a view which, though coupled with other sentiments, underlies the whole poem. Fortunatus, an Italian living in Gaul, bishop of Poitiers from 599 until 609, and a contemporary of Aneirin at least during the latter part of his life, was aware of the existence of 'British songs' as the well-known sentence *crotta Britanna canat*, occurring in another of his panegyrics, demonstrates. There is, however, no evidence of a connection between the two poets, or reason for believing that the one influenced the other. The concept of undying praise earned, and desired, by the fallen warrior was a commonplace of heroic tradition. For the poet of *Y Gododdin* it was a basic assumption as he composed his poem. It may here be added that early Welsh panegyric is considered by most scholars to be a direct continuation of previous Celtic tradition and that possible classical influence on it is discounted, although Sims-Williams has speculated on the significance of 'the figurative use of the Latin loan-words in early Welsh poetry'. He instances *angor*, *colofn* and *mur* (cf. above, p. xlii), which 'are used of persons in Welsh panegyric . . . just as *ancora*, *columna* and *murus* are used in Latin', as well as *llew*, *draig*, *dragon* and *sarff*, borrowed respectively from *leo*, *draco*, *dracon-em* and *serpens*, employed in *Y Gododdin* either for purposes of comparison or to designate warriors and leaders in battle (cf. 392, 945; 288; 249, 289; 211, 562, 588).

Literary Characteristics

The use of metaphors in *Y Gododdin* has been discussed in the preceding section. They are almost invariably designed to convey an impression of the fierceness, strength and martial qualities of the warriors. Similes are much less numerous but on the whole carry the same emphasis. The sound of shields in battle is twice compared to thunder (134, 422), and in an obscure passage (650-1) contention is likened to 'fire blazing when kindled'. Gwrwelling's shield is said to be 'as a stronghold' (165) and the implied comparison of Gwid son of Peithan in 370-1 to a 'rock of vast circumference' is testimony to his steadfastness. Both Madog and Cynon cut down their enemies 'like rushes' (36, 399), and Marchlew caused blood to flow 'as a reaper strikes in unsettled weather' (301). Animal imagery is used in the comparison of Caradog to a wild boar (328), of Eithinyn to a 'wild beast' (? 413), and in the assertion that Bubon was 'three times fiercer than a savage lion' (945). Buddfan son of Bleiddfan's swiftness is indicated by the statement that he was 'in movement like a horse' (269), and at the hosting Cadfannan is similarly declared to be 'always like a bounding ball' (553-4). For Gwaednerth son of Llywri to take up a spear was as easy 'as if it were sparkling wine from glass vessels' (624-5), and Gwrhafal made blood flow 'like drinking mead while laughing' (675), but 'like unto death weariness falls' upon the unnamed hero of stanza 72 (695). Examples of rather weak similes are found in lines 322 ('like a man, a hero'), 374 ('in the manner of a lord') and 775 ('like a valiant one'). Totally exceptional is line 304 which likens Isag to the 'flowing sea', not for his valour, but for his demeanour, i.e. his 'modesty and liberality and gentle drinking of mead'.

There are frequent examples of the use of hyperbole in the poem, in most cases in the form of numerical exaggeration. 'Five fifties' are said to have fallen before the blades of Hyfaidd Hir in 59 (a statement repeated of Rhufon Hir in 361), while in the next couplet (60-1) we are told that 'a hundred score of the men of Deira and Bernicia fell into oblivion in one hour'. According to 96 the battle of Catraeth was an encounter of three hundred against a hundred thousand, and line 900 asserts that the men from

the region of Din Eidyn were outnumbered by 'nine score to one, around each mail-clad man'. Much more modestly, it is claimed in 536 that the army of the Gododdin 'slew seven times their number of the English'. Heinif son of Nwython is said to have slain a hundred gold-torqued princes in order to be praised (927-30), but he excelled even this when he went with his warriors to Catraeth (931-2). The statement in line 39 (cf. 661) that when Madog returned before his tent 'there would come but one man from a hundred' is ambiguous (see note). A comparison in numerical terms, with perhaps not immoderate exaggeration, is found in 446-7, which asserts that if Bradwen was the equal of three men, Gwenabwy son of Gwen was the equal of twelve. Examples of non-numerical hyperbole are found in such statements as 'Before Erthgi armies groaned' (140) and 'Tafloyw . . . would overthrow an army' (776-7), or the claim made for Gwawrddur who, although he was no Arthur, is said to have 'cut down both centre and wing' of the enemy host (968). The sanguinary and grotesque imagery of the assertion in 235-6 that, if the blood of those killed by Breichiawl were wine, he would be well supplied for three or four years leads to a jocular remark in the next line to the effect that the supply would no doubt be rapidly diminished. This provides some relief after the enormity of the preceding image, but whether it was so intended may be debated.

Instances of understatement or meiosis, almost invariably in the form of litotes which gives emphasis to an affirmation by negating its contrary, occur more than twice as frequently in *Y Gododdin* as do those of hyperbole. Thus the poet expresses his affection for Ywain son of Marro by asserting that 'there shall not be enmity between me and thee' (19-20). He may, however, have felt the need for a more positive statement of his feelings, for in the next couplet he says that he will 'do better' for Ywain by praising him in song, but such additions or glosses are rare. Gwrwelling's shield, we are told, 'was not solid through the spears of war' (179-80); in other words, it was shattered in battle. Breichiawl's ferocity is described by the affirmation that 'his valiant heart was not un-destructive' (233). The princely Llifiau, protector of a hundred men, was no doubt a towering figure among the warriors, but the poet

conveys this information by telling us that 'he was not excluded in the hall from the mead-drink' (250). Then, after two lines containing positive statements stressing his ferocity, a restrained and negative couplet assures us that 'the men of Gododdin do not tell after battle that there was anyone harsher than Llifiau' (253-4; cf. 261-2). Gwenabwy son of Gwen's martial qualities are made known by declaring that 'he left no breach through cowardice' (284), as is his liberality by the statement that he (described as 'the profit of minstrelsy') did not leave his court on New Year's Day (285-6). Cynon was without doubt as boastful of his intentions as any of his fellow-warriors, but the poet uses a double negative sentence to tell us of this: 'Cynon did not declare that he would not make a corpse' (367). A similarly constructed statement is found in praise of Cynhafal: 'The Gododdin do not relate on the day of battle that Cynhafal was no protector' (461-2). The liberality of the court of Senyllt is proclaimed by stating that it 'bore no shame with its mead-filled vessels' (493-4). Men who resisted the enemy stubbornly are described as 'warriors who did not show their heels in flight' (505). The address to Addonwy, 'Thou wouldst not do worse than Morien' (528), is a compliment, for to be declared the equal of Morien was no doubt high praise. Tudfwlch is lauded with the simple statement that 'he was no weakling' (606). Line 713 says of a warrior (? Pobddelw) that 'he was not churlish to a fellow-drinker', which means that he was a good companion. The loss the warrior's land suffered through his death is indicated by the phrase 'It did not profit the land of Pobddelw' (715). Erf, according to 723, 'was not inconspicuous or a fugitive', i.e. was a person of eminence, and again, in the words of the succeeding line, 'was no bitter-sweet fellow-drinker', i.e. was constant and dependable. However, the claim that he 'did not retreat an acre's width' (727) is not one of the poem's most trenchant statements. According to 744 Moried 'was no runaway', and a sentence which recalls those used to praise Llifiau, and in particular Cynon and Cynhafal (see above), tells us that 'men of valour do not relate before the Gododdin that the son of Ceidio was not a famous warrior' (762-3). No one 'bolder' than Gwair Hir 'was reared in hall', 'nor in battle' was there 'one more steadfast' (859-60). 'In the day

of anger' Bleiddig son of Eli 'would not avoid the struggle' (881), an unnamed warrior in 892, like the 'men who did not flee' praised in 912, 'bore no shame', and Madog Elfed, 'when he struck with his blades, . . . was not seen to be spiritless' (915-16). The assertion in the next line that Madog 'was no unsightly phantom when giving protection' may be emended to mean 'his savagery was unremitting' (see note). The description of Cynon as 'not one to escape with his life' (920) has been cited in the previous section. A formula of praise used in 939-43, 'There did not arm for battle . . . any man who was better' than Heinif son of Nwython, is a variant of the question asked in 209-10: 'Did there come from the Brython a better man than Cynon?', and of the statement in 637-8: 'Rarely in battle from among the Britons of Gododdin was there one by far better than Cynon'.

Apart from the ironical element implicit in litotes, irony is not frequently used in *Y Gododdin*. Instances are descriptions of attacks against the enemy as 'gifts' (702, 963, possibly 593, see note). Sharp contrasts, both conceptual and verbal, are however given prominence in the poem. Line 11, 'In might a man, a youth in years', resembles the *puer senex* (or *senilis*) topos of late Antiquity, although the reference here is to a combination of the attributes of a youth and a man in his full vigour rather than in old age, and is concerned with soldierly qualities and not with wisdom. Madog, though breathless (or speechless) in the presence of a maiden, earned his mead on the battle-field (32). The warriors, despite their laughter, were harsh in battle (67-8). After the cry of jubilation there was silence (*gwedi elwch, tawelwch*, 81). The mead, though sweet, was a snare (*melys, maglawr*, 102). Erthgi's humility in his court (139) is contrasted with his aggressiveness towards the enemy (140). When everyone fled (*esgynnai*), Breichiawl attacked (*disgynnud*, 234). Isag's modesty and liberality and graciousness when drinking mead (304-6) were beyond measure, but in battle his sword took a savage toll (309). Ceredig too, 'a petted favourite, of excellent courtesy, was gentle before his day came' (313-14). Although the warriors were slain (*lleseint*), they slew (*lladdasan*, 345; cf. 867). Rhufon Hir's ferocity as he 'cut his way through armies' (360) was not less marked than his

patronage of the church and his largesse to minstrels (362-3). In the encounter of battle Bradwen did not escape (*ni ddiengis*); he died (*trengis*, 455). The warriors' lives were short, but their kinsmen's grief for them was long (535). Gwaednerth son of Llywri's mead was contained in a goblet of silver, but gold was his due (626). A hundred men bore away the marks of Gorthyn Hir son of Urfai's severity in battle, but at the New Year feast he provided song (846-7). Edar, when pressed (*grynied*), thrust forward (*gryniai*, 961), and though he struck (*rywanai*), he was struck (*rywaned*, 962).

The numerous instances of playing upon words, including punning, in the poem are perhaps an aspect of this predilection for the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas and phrases. In 129 Tudfwlch, whose name literally meant 'breach of the people', is described as *tud nerthydd*, 'strengthener' or 'sustainer of the people' (see note). In stanza 17 the personal name Blaen occurs six times and could also in each case be understood as an adjective, 'first, leading' (cf. note on 150). The use of *llymach*, 'sharper, harsher', in lines 254 and 262 to describe Llif (Llifiau in 254) is a play upon *llif*, 'saw, file', cf. *llifaid*, 'whetted, sharpened'. The son of Fferog (375), immediately he is mentioned, is said to be *ffêr ei law*, 'of mighty hand'. Eithinyn drove out (*diodes*) the enemy and set (*dodes*) a boundary (403). The noun *gwynfyd*, 'delight; paradise', in 469 could also be (and probably was) the name of the hero celebrated (see note). A play on *banceirw*, 'spears', and *Bancarw* as a place-name is probably intended in 509, coupled with a double use of *cwr* (see note). *Hoedl* and *hoed* in 535 can be similarly linked. *Ysgwyd ar ysgwydd*, 'shield on shoulder' (624), was a common cliché. *Mynog* appears to be used both as a proper name and as a common noun or adjective in 729-30. In celebrating Tafloyw (776-7) the poet grasped the opportunity to declare that he would 'toss off' (*taflai*) a glass of mead and 'overthrow' (again *taflai*) an army. *Pellws* in the middle of 862 echoes *pellennig* at the beginning of the line. The play upon *heinif*, 'vigorous' (935/40), and the name of the hero Heinif (942) was no doubt inevitable.

There are a few examples of synecdoche, in which a part represents the whole. In 438 *tywarchen*, 'sod', is used for

'land, territory', as is *tywysen*, 'ear of corn', in 464 (cf. note on the latter). In 606 *dallu*, 'to blind', means 'to slay'. *Rhawn rhyn*, 'rough horse-hair', is used in 903 for 'rough-haired steeds'. However, despite the large number of instances of figurative language which have been cited (and, indeed, many others which could be added to the above list) the prevailing impression received from a reading of *Y Gododdin* is one of direct, vigorous and positive statements, often repeated, of the poem's basic themes, —the warriors' courage, steadfastness and ferocity, their fidelity to their chieftain, their desire for fame and glory even at the price of life itself, their courtesy and liberality when not engaged in war and combat, the harshness of the inexorable fate which led them to the conflict at Catraeth, the sadness of their demise in the full flower of youth. These are the stock concepts of heroic poetry, but relief from the monotony of their frequent repetition in a poem of a thousand lines which is lyrical in character and lacks narrative is provided by the vigour, richness and great variety of the language used. Dr Sims-Williams has referred to the 'relative simplicity' of *Y Gododdin* and asserted that it 'do[es] not look, scribal corruptions apart, as if [it] had been particularly obscure before the Old Welsh period'. He further speculates that 'for every poem in the style of the *Gododdin* there may have been dozens of lost ones brimming with arcane diction, preserved final syllables, and unsyncopated medial syllables'. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that, as opposed to British or Brittonic, the Welsh language in the sixth and seventh centuries was new and fresh as a literary medium, and this quality may be seen as accounting in large measure for the vigorous diction of the earliest Welsh verse. What appears archaic to the modern reader would have been contemporary speech for those who composed and recited the poem in the Early and Old Welsh period. Syntactically its language is not involved and this may be related to the fact that, except in the case of the stanzas which contain very short lines, the unit of expression is normally the line or the couplet. The amplitude and variety of the vocabulary of *Y Gododdin*, however, may be judged from the following (not completely exhaustive) list of nouns denoting war and battle and the

tumult associated therewith which occur in the text: *aer, arswyd, brithred, cad, cadiawr, caled, camawn, cyflafan, cyfranc, cyfrysedd, cymynad, cynfaran, cyni, cynnen, cystudd, cywrysedd, dyhedd, erfid, ffosawd, gawr, glyw, graid, gryd, gwaith, gwanar, gŵnedd, gwriawr, gwrŷs, gŵyth, mid, mysgi, plymlwyd, plymnwyd, rhaid, rhyfel, taer, trais, trin, trwm, trydar, ymwrthryn, ystryng*. Words used for the warriors are *aergwn, catgi, cedwyr, ceimiad, cynifiad, cynran, disgyniaid, drwsiad, eithiniad, ffestiniawr, gomyniad, gŵr, gwrthiad, llawrwr, lleiddiad, rhiallu, rhwygiad, torchawr, trenghidydd, trychiad*, and the weapons of offence, mostly spears, lances and swords, are called *ais, arf, banceirw, cadwaywawr, cangen, ceingiell, cethrawr, cleddyf, erfyn, glasog, gwaywawr, llafn, llath, llwry, offer, onn, paladr, pren, saffwy, sychyn, ysbâr*. Verb-nouns denoting the actions in which these weapons were used include *achub, adwanu, amddiffryd, amddiffyn, amwyn, ardwyo, bwrw, catáu, crynu, crysgwyddiad, crysio, cyfamwyn, cyfarfod, cynnif, cyrchu, dilain, disgyn, dygymynu, gomynu, grynio, gwanu, gwrthod, hëu, lladd, pleingiaid, rhagwan, rhwygo, tyllu, ymladd*. The warlike and heroic imagery of *Y Gododdin* is largely dependent on the wealth of vocabulary displayed by these lists, of which many more might be compiled, and is fortified and sustained by the metaphors and figurative language cited above in this and the previous section.

The only substantial relief from the dominance of martial imagery in the poem is perhaps that supplied by the references to the generosity and graciousness of some of the heroes in their own courts, such as Isag whose 'modesty and liberality' are praised in 305. If we exclude the metaphorical and other mentions of bulls, boars, bears, wolves, horses, eagles and other living creatures, and also of trees, leeks and a herb-garden, there is little or nothing in *Y Gododdin* that can be described as nature poetry apart from the references to 'sunlight on grass' (161) and to the 'green dawn' (217), and the quite exceptional lines which state that the poets of the world judged Buddfan son of Bleiddfan to have been of manly heart 'before he was left at the fords, at dew-fall, the eagle of graceful movement, beside the wave's spray near the hillside' (273-6), and buried at Eleirch Fre, possibly the 'Hill of Swans' (279).

Y Gododdin depicts a male world and only infrequently refers to women. Aneirin's mother Dwywai is mentioned in the 'Reciter's Prologue' (3) and the name of Gwenabwy's mother, Gwen, occurs twice in the poem (290, 447). Line 647 refers to 'the daughter of Eudaf Hir ... who was clothed in purple' and it has been suggested that she was the wife of Mynyddog, but the reference is somewhat obscure (see note). The *neithiawr*, 'wedding-feast', is twice mentioned (24, 62), but only in order to say that Ywain son of Marro and Hyfaidd Hir would prefer to go to a 'ravens' feast' or a 'wolf-feast' than to a nuptial. No doubt these were formulaic expressions. Similarly the young son of Cian 'desired no father-in-law's dowry' (92), i.e. rather than take a wife preferred to heed the call of war. However, the assertion in 266 that Graid son of Hoywgi 'laid men low and made women widows' clearly makes the assumption that some, at least, of the enemy warriors were married. In 537 it is also stated that 'they (i.e. the Gododdin) made women widows' and this is followed by the oft-quoted line, 'Many a mother with her tear on her eyelid', but it is perhaps not quite certain whether by this is meant the widows themselves, who may also have been mothers, or the mothers of the enemy warriors (cf. note on 538). We are further told in 309 that Isag's 'sword resounded in the heads of mothers'. There are two other instances of the word for 'mother' (*mam*), but in the one the phrase *nid mab mam* (350) merely means 'nobody', and in the other the statement *mam nid ymddûg* (487), 'no mother has brought forth', introduces a claim that no one comparable to Cenau son of Llywarch (who rescued Aneirin from 'cruel imprisonment') has been born. The description of Madog as one who, though 'breathless' before a maiden, 'earned his mead' (32) suggests that he was far from being unaware of the attractions of the opposite sex even if he was more accustomed to the turmoil of battle. Ywain, who is given the rather unusual description 'head of judgement' (687) despite his pre-eminence in martial exploits, is also said to have been 'modest' (*dysgïawr*, cf. GPC 1149) in the presence of a maiden, and while this may be a restatement of the sense of line 32 it could be a reference to the refinement and courtesy of his demeanour in his court. This latter meaning is paralleled by the assertion in 847-50 that

the son of Urfai, though an 'arrogant boar', provided song at the New Year feast and was approachable by 'a lady and a maiden and a lord'. The eulogy of Bradwen in 446, which states that he was 'the equal of' or 'fought like' (cf. Jackson, *God.*, 133) three men 'for the favour of a maiden', seems out of place in the poem. Such a motivation for a warrior's actions belongs, not to heroic poetry, but to Arthurian romance and the reference to the maiden's favour, which does not occur in the B text, is best understood as a late addition (see note).

Y Gododdin contains a number of specifically Christian references. These have been interpreted in two ways, either as indications that from its inception the work was a 'Christian' poem, or as late interpolations. In *God.*, 123 (cf. 37), Jackson translates *gynnon* in line 207, here rendered 'tribes', as 'heathen', but a religious connotation for this word is perhaps not certain in this instance. No word for 'God' is found in *Y Gododdin*. In 433 the phrase *A'n gelwid i nef* may be understood as containing a reference to the Deity ('He who calls us to heaven'), but we cannot be sure of the meaning of this line (see note). The word for 'heaven', *nef*, occurs five times (163, 316, 433, 773, 895) and once in the old genitive form *nyf* (238). In 163, however, *nef* is possibly used for the 'court' of the Island of Britain but could be an error for *naf*, 'lord' (see note). Lines 71 and 82 refer to warriors going 'to churches to do penance', and there is also a mention of penance (*penyd*) in 703, not however in a religious sense but metaphorically as a description of the English. In 362 Rhufon Hir is praised for giving gold 'to the altar', while in 63 Hyfaidd Hir is said to have been 'quicker to the raven's gain (i.e. battle) than to the altar'. Immediately preceding the latter statement is the line (62) which says that Hyfaidd was 'quicker to a wolf-feast than to a nuptial', but whether the *allawr* is intended to be linked to the *neithiawr* is uncertain. In 110 the word *bedydd*, originally 'the baptized; Christendom', is used, but here meaning 'the world', an instance of a secondary or developed meaning comparable to that of *penyd*, cited above. A reference to the death of Cibno, of similar construction to certain other statements already cited (p. xxxix), asserts that the hero 'does not tell after the uproar of battle, though he took communion (*cymun*), that he received his reward' (616-17). While both the text and the interpretation of the couplet are somewhat doubtful, it may be compared with lines 71-3 and 82-3 which aver that, though the warriors 'went to churches to do penance, the certain meeting with death came to them'. The two stanzas which are devoted to the memory of Ceredig the 'lovable' chieftain, after praising both his courtesy and his martial prowess, express the wish: 'May there be for him who loved songs an assignment in the land of heaven, the home of understanding' (315-16); 'May he be welcomed among the host with the Trinity in full unity' (325-6). The elegiac stanza which mourns Rhufon and Gwgon, Gwion and Gwlged, ends with the couplet: 'May there be for their souls after the battle a welcome in the land of heaven, the home of plenty' (772-3). And the 'protection of heaven, an abode in a desired land', is the poet's request in 895 for Gwaednerth.

Professor Simon Evans has made a strong case for the view that all the references of a religious character in *Y Gododdin* are late additions to the original text. In his opinion, at the time of its composition *Y Gododdin* was probably a purely heroic poem in which the warriors were simply extolled for their prowess and their readiness to face death in battle in order to achieve undying fame. (He further argues that passages of pure elegy such as 'Grievous for me, after toil, is the suffering of death's agony in affliction' (764-5) and 'it is a heavy grief for me to see the headlong fall of our men' (766-7) are inconsistent with the heroic ideal and could not have belonged to the poem in its earliest form.) Stressing the pre-Christian or non-Christian character of the concept of the hero, he ponders the problem posed by line 238, which addresses Breichiawl with the words, 'Mayest thou attain the abode of heaven because thou didst not flee', and concludes that the line, in which there is an incongruous combination of a religious wish with the heroic ideal, is probably of later date than the original poem. This appears to be even more patently the case with the reading in the A text, which is as follows: *ys deupo gwaeanat gwerth na phechut* ('May there come joy [to thee] because thou didst not sin'; cf. note). Here it is clear that an even later clerical editor of the text has, by the simple and ingenious expedient of changing *thechut* to

phechut, removed the heroic content from the line and provided it with a meaning more in keeping with normal religious thinking. Professor Evans points out further that the expression *ys deupo*, which is used in the A text to introduce line 238, also occurs in lines 315, 325 and 772, all three of which, as we have seen, have a religious content. He adds that the 3rd singular subjunctive form *deupo* is not known to occur elsewhere in any Welsh text, so that it is reasonable to conclude that in these four lines we can detect the hand of the same scholar or editor, one of the late interpolators of *Y Gododdin*.

Before coming to any final conclusions on this matter it would, however, be well to sound a note of caution. There is no basis for the view that Christianity was not known in the North in the late sixth century. It had, in fact, been propagated there since the time of Ninian in the early fifth century and Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow who died in 612 according to the *Annales Cambriae*, was a contemporary of Aneirin, as was Rhun son of Urien Rheged, who became a churchman and later baptized the English of Northumbria. We have seen that there are reasons for thinking that Aneirin was a brother, or at least a half-brother, of Deinioel, the founder of Bangor. Christianity had been the official religion of the later Roman Empire and there are no grounds for believing that, nominally at least, Aneirin and the men of the Gododdin were not Christians. On the other hand, we have no knowledge of the impact of Christianity on their attitudes and values, particularly those which they might have inherited from the pre-Christian past. The praise of warriors for their fidelity to the heroic ideal was no doubt derived from the panegyric tradition of pagan times, but we do not know how a sixth-century poet like Aneirin would have reconciled his heroes' pride in their warlike exploits with the Christian emphasis on humility and self-abnegation, or indeed whether he would have thought it necessary to do so. We have seen how Aneirin's contemporary Venantius Fortunatus, a bishop of the Gaulish church, was able to offer the father of two fallen warriors the non-Christian consolation that 'to die for the sake of praise will be to live for ever'. Since the time of the Emperor Constantine the Church and churchmen have (with exceptions) done honour to the

profession of arms, despite its inevitable association with many, if not all, of the attitudes manifested and the qualities praised in *Y Gododdin*. However, the case for the comparative lateness of most of the lines with a religious orientation in the poem, which do not amount to many more than a score, is impressive. Despite Professor Evans's doubts, the line which seems to possess the strongest claim to antiquity is 238. This not only contains the archaic *gwas nyf* (for which *gwaeanat* was substituted in the later A text) for the 'abode of heaven', but also the concept of a reward in the after-life for a warrior slain in battle, which in origin was primitive and pre-Christian though it persisted well into the Christian Middle Ages.

The lines and passages of pure elegy in *Y Gododdin* constitute a much larger proportion of the text than those with a religious content. They are not always easy to separate from the passages of praise, but to omit all of them from the poem, in accordance with the suggestion noted above, would leave a substantial gap, both textual and conceptual. On stylistic grounds many may give an impression of lateness, but such judgements can of course be very subjective. There is certainly no reason for thinking that Aneirin, as court poet of the Gododdin, would not have mourned the loss of the warriors of the war-band, and expressed his own and the community's sorrow in his poem. Indeed, the sense of loss arose in part from the excellence of those mourned, and the need for the elegy was heightened by the intensity of the eulogy. We possess an elegy, ascribed to Taliesin, for a sixth-century prince, Owain ab Urien, who was contemporary with Aneirin. This poem, the antiquity of which has not hitherto been seriously challenged, praises Owain's incomparable military leadership as well as his readiness to distribute gifts. It attributes a religious motivation to him for his liberality, asserting that he bestowed largesse 'for the sake of his soul'. The elegy begins and ends with the word *enaid*, meaning 'soul', and this is the sense in which the word is used in the, possibly late, example in line 772 of *Y Gododdin*. In the other three instances in the latter poem the word carries the, probably more original, meaning of 'life'. The elegy to Owain ab Urien, however, contains religious and elegiac as well as eulogistic ingredients, so that

unless its authenticity can be successfully contested a dogmatic assertion that *Y Gododdin* could not contain either religious or elegiac elements would not be well based.

Y Gododdin, as we have seen, is not a narrative poem, although a sequence of events must be presumed to lie behind the matter which it contains. These would have been the decision of Mynyddog to mount a strategic attack against the Angles at Catraeth, the proposal to form a war-band specifically to achieve this end, the invitations and summonses to prospective members to join, the preparations, training and planning as well as the feasting in the royal hall at Din Eidyn, the long journey southwards with its camaraderie and hopes (and possibly doubts) of a successful outcome, and finally the disastrous battle itself. Time and again in the course of the poem these various phases or stages in the story's development are referred to directly or indirectly, but they are not the subject of consecutive narrative. In this respect, however, one rather strange stanza is exceptional. This is the 68th, which occurs in both A and B texts, and can therefore claim a respectable antiquity. The text is not easy, but it appears to commence with a reference to the 'clamour' and the 'outbreak of conflict' or 'contention' among the warriors in the royal hall before the expedition set out. This suggests that at the end of the year's preparation, or feasting, tension was high among the members of the war-band, and they were avid for a fight. There follow seven lines containing a kind of diary of a week's events, including the battle itself, commencing on a Tuesday and ending on the following Monday. On Tuesday the warriors 'put on their fine covering' (i.e. armour), on Wednesday 'their common desire was bitter', on Thursday 'envoys were pledged', and on Friday 'the carnage was reckoned', i.e. according to Jackson (*God.*, 109) 'boasted of in anticipation'. These activities were obviously preliminary to engagement in battle, but on Saturday 'their joint action was swift', on Sunday 'red blades were shared out' and on Monday 'blood flowing up to the thighs was seen'. This passage, which offers us a picture of a battle lasting two, or possibly three, days differs somewhat from the more usual one of 'warriors charging, leaping forward together' (337) in a 'sudden shock attack by a tiny force of cavalry' (Jackson, ibid.). In

form it is pure narrative but whether it is historically based, or represents genuine early tradition, can only be a matter of speculation. The final three lines in the stanza appear to be an unrelated addition, echoing or adapting the last three lines in stanza 3 (37-9), which tells us rather cryptically (cf. note on 39) that after a battle only 'one man from a hundred' returned before Madog's tent.

The Interpolations

The most obvious interpolations in *Y Gododdin* are the three stanzas (101, 102 and 103) which bear no relation to the subject-matter of the poem and are here printed between the end of the text and the selections from the *Gorchanau*. They may be presumed to have been written originally on the margins of early manuscripts, now lost, and incorporated in the text by a later scribe or scribes who clearly considered them to be stanzas of the poem. The three are an *englyn* to a hero named Cyny, a stanza celebrating the British victory over Domnall Brecc in 642, and a cradle-song entitled 'Dinogad's Smock', and they may be described as follows:

1. The Cyny *englyn* does honour to Cyny, a son of Llywarch Hen (see notes on 989-90), and is generally regarded as a stray from the cycle of *englynion* which deal with the saga of Llywarch and his sons. It occurs in the A text between stanzas 48 and 49. Stanza 50, which is found on the same page of the manuscript and is itself probably an interpolation, contains a reference to Cenau son of Llywarch, and this may have suggested to a scribe the propriety of including the Cyny *englyn* in his text (cf. Jackson, *God.*, 47).

2. The stanza which celebrates the victory of the Strathclyde Britons over Domnall Brecc (Dyfnwal Frych) at the battle of Strathcarron in 642 (see note on 991) is found in both the A and B texts. In the A text it occurs between stanza 77 and 78, but in B it is the first stanza, coming immediately before the 'Reciter's Prologue'. From this Jackson concludes that in all probability it 'had been inserted in the blank at the top of the first page of an earlier manuscript, and was incorporated as part of the *Gododdin* by a later scribe copying this manuscript' (*God.*, 48). A

mid-seventh-century date for its composition is reasonably certain and it is the only example we possess of verse which can claim to have been produced in, or to derive from, the kingdom of Strathclyde. It is of course possible that it is a stanza from a longer poem celebrating the victory of Hoan (Owain) the grandson of Nwython in 642 over the Goidels of Dál Riada. In metre and diction and content it is akin to large sections of *Y Gododdin*, but in its circumstantiality and specific references it differs from the normal run of the stanzas of that poem. We can only speculate whether the scribes who included it in their texts thought it was relevant to the battle of Catraeth, but it doubtless establishes a link with the kingdom of Strathclyde in the transmission of *Y Gododdin*.

3. The lullaby 'Dinogad's Smock' has been described by Jackson as 'a delightful cradle song to a baby called Dinogad, by its mother, who first whistles and croons to the child and summons the household slaves to do likewise, and then tells it how its father would go a-hunting with his dogs Giff and Gaff, bringing back deer or grouse or "fish from the falls of Derwennydd" ' (*God.*, 46). It is only found in the A text, where it is the last stanza but one (between stanzas 85 and 86 of the present text) and Jackson further suggests that it was mechanically incorporated in *Y Gododdin* by a scribe who did not understand what it was about, after the scribe of an earlier manuscript had 'jotted it down in a margin or other blank'. It is perhaps difficult to understand why a medieval scribe would have failed to comprehend the import of the stanza but the occurrence in it of certain verbal forms such as *lleddi*, *lladd* and (*nid*) *angai*, and of the nouns *llath*, *llory* and *cigwain*, as well as the references to the lion, wild boar, lynx (?) and fox (?), may have appeared to be in keeping with the military milieu and animal imagery of *Y Gododdin*. R. L. Thomson has furthermore argued (see note on 1000) that the phrase 'a delightful cradle song' is less than apt as a description of the stanza. The use of several verbs in the imperfect tense rather than the present or future to describe the activities of the huntsman ('would', 'used to'), he suggests, imbue it with an elegiac note, which may indeed be the explanation of its inclusion in the text of *Y Gododdin*. We do not know its early history and it would be hazardous to suggest a

precise date for its composition, though it is frequently assigned to the seventh century. If however the Derwent to which it refers is the one in County Durham, within Gododdin territory, it must have been composed at an early date and transmitted together with the other elegiac stanzas attributed to Aneirin. A more westerly Derwent, like that in the Lake District, would of course allow for a later date.

The remaining interpolations or classes of interpolatory material in *Y Gododdin* are all related to the matter and content of the poem. They have been discussed at various points in the preceding sections and may be thus classified:

4. The 'Reciter's Prologue'. This must be regarded as an interpolation as it refers to the death of Aneirin, to whom it also applies the stereotyped heroic description 'the gentle one, the wall of battle', as if he himself was a prince or warrior (8). It is found in both A and B texts and in B is the second stanza, occupying its proper position at the beginning of the poem as the first stanza is the obviously unrelated verse celebrating the battle of Strathcarron. The scribe of the A text, however, was presumably not aware that it was a prologue, for it occurs there between stanzas 54 and a version of 55 (CA 26). The variant readings of the two texts of the stanza are discussed in notes 1-10 and a date roughly between c. 640 and c. 830 has been suggested for its composition (see note 1 and cf. p. xxv). At the commencement the reciter makes a strong claim for the superiority of *Y Gododdin* over all other poems. Differing degrees of value seem to have been attached to various poems when they were recited in bardic competitions in the court, and in the A text the reciter appears to refer to himself as 'a youth desirous of silver', i.e. of a prize or reward (*gwas chwant y aryant*, cf. note on 2).

5. Stanzas 49 and 50, discussed on p. xxvi, which appear to contain elements of an incipient saga telling of the imprisonment of Aneirin in an underground dwelling and his subsequent rescue by Cenau son of Llywarch. With these may perhaps be linked the references in 22 to his escape from the battle of Catraeth and in both texts of the 'Reciter's Prologue' to his death by violence.

6. The numerical elaboration in stanza 22 which avers that, not three hundred, but three hundred and sixty-three

warriors went forth to battle at Catraeth, and that of these, not one, but three survived. The 'three' may possibly be linked to the 'three kings of the people', Cynri, Cynon and Cynrain, honoured in stanza 19. Line 191 in this stanza refers to 'three hounds and three hundred' but this may have meant three bands of a hundred men in each of which one warrior occupied the leading position (cf. Jackson, *God.*, 25). Stanza 88, however, after praising 'three hundred gold-torqued warriors' and 'three hundred haughty ones' on their 'three hundred impetuous horses', ends with the statement that 'three hounds and three hundred ... did not return'. This appears to be a textual confusion similar to that manifested by the discrepancy between the stanzas which state that there were no survivors of the battle of Catraeth and those which speak of one (cf. pp. xxix, xxxii-xxxiii).

7. The references in stanza 45 to Myrddin and possibly to Arthur in 99 (see pp. xxxiv-xxxv and cf. the notes on lines 443-4 and 972).

8. Stanzas and passages apparently containing matter inconsistent with, or extraneous to, the heroic ideal, and which Professor Simon Evans has, on these grounds, argued to be of late composition. This view, according to which the only genuinely early sections of *Y Gododdin* are those extolling the martial and heroic virtues, to the exclusion of passages with a religious or an elegiac content, has been discussed on pp. lvii-lx. As has been pointed out, the elegiac passages are not always easy to separate from those of praise. For instances, lines 857-8, 'There has come to me a sorrow unsought, There will not come to me one more grievous', is pure elegy, but it is immediately succeeded by a couplet of pure eulogy, 'There was not reared in hall one bolder than he, Nor in battle one more steadfast'. This category would also include the reference in line 446 to the desire of a maiden's favour as motivating heroic action.

It would be a very plausible general argument that stanzas in which the language is easy, indeed almost modern, are probably much later than those in which, quite apart from scribal corruption, it is difficult and archaic. A case in point would be stanza 33 as contrasted with, for instance, 52. As a criterion for differentiating between productions of the nineteenth or twentieth and

the fourteenth centuries such a method would be a valid guide. Applied to the period from the sixth or seventh to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, however, it would, in the present state of our knowledge, be of dubious value.

As an orally transmitted poem, making use of many formulaic expressions, *Y Gododdin* was peculiarly susceptible to the operation of the process of accretion described by Professor Jackson in a well-known study as 'incremental repetition'. This would almost certainly have occurred in the case of various series of stanzas commencing with stereotyped phrases such as *Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth*. We must therefore be prepared to envisage a process of transmission, extending over centuries, during which skilful reciters and minstrels made their own additions, in traditional form and style, to the corpus of the poetry which they had inherited and of which they were the custodians. To attempt to identify these additions in the text as it has been preserved would be a daunting task. If it could be done, then it might be claimed that what remained was the original poem. Welsh scholars incline on the whole, though not unanimously, to the view that such a poem is in essence contained in the Book of Aneirin. The establishment of its text, with all later accretions expunged, would of course be extremely hazardous, as has already been emphasized (cf. p. xiv), and is not attempted here.

The *Gorchanau*

The four *Gorchanau*, though preserved in the Book of Aneirin, are not parts of *Y Gododdin*, or even interpolations, but separate poems. *Gorchan Tudfwlch* and *Gorchan Cynfelyn* are, however, related to the matter of the poem ascribed to Aneirin and were no doubt thought of as additions or supplements to it. The warrior Tudfwlch is mentioned in lines 125, 129, 147 and 597 (repeated in 609) of *Y Gododdin*, and his name is coupled with that of Cyfwlch in *Gorchan Tudfwlch* (1060) as well as in *Y Gododdin* (147). *Gorchan Tudfwlch* opens with the words *Arf anghynnull, Anghyman ddull* (1014-15), which are repeated towards the end (1072-3), and also occur at the beginning of stanza 25 of *Y Gododdin* (263). As we have

seen (p. xxxvi), Tudfwlch probably belonged to the party of warriors from Gwynedd, for the *Gorchan* states that he was lamented in Eifionydd (CA 50, cf. 352) and refers to Tâl Henban in that district (1021). It also mentions Teithfyw 'from Môn' (1058). Like all the warriors of the Gododdin, Tudfwlch is said to be a 'champion' and 'one who loved war'. He is a 'rampart of valour', a 'heroic bull' and the 'haven of an army'. As has already been pointed out (see p. xlvi), a patriotic motivation is ascribed to him, in that he is said to have 'repulsed four hosts for the sake of the land'. He is moreover described as the 'desire of a maiden', an attribute rarely (if ever) mentioned in *Y Gododdin* (cf. p. lv). The reference towards the beginning of the poem to 'loud thunderous cries around Tâl Henban' is doubtless to be related to the hero's reputed exploits on occasions previous to the battle of Catraeth, possibly when it was his wont to 'drive out the Saxons without ceasing from his land and homesteads' (cf. note on line 125). It will also be noted that in line 1052 of the 'Selections' from the *Gorchan* the poem refers to the war-band of Mynyddog in the plural, and then names Cynan, Cynon, Teithfyw and Cyfwlch as well as Tudfwlch. This could mean that a later section was added to the original *Gorchan*, and that when its author spoke of his 'year of longing for the men of Catraeth' (1066-8) he was identifying himself in imagination with the poet of *Y Gododdin*, and possibly reflecting or repeating the references to a 'year' found in lines such as 103, 242 and 348.

The *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn mourns, and lauds, a warrior whose name does not occur in *Y Gododdin* itself. Cynfelyn is said to be the son of Tegfan, the son of Cadfan, and Gwynedd named as 'his land'. The opening lines include a reference (here omitted) to the Twrch Trwyth, the legendary boar which figures in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*. Gwynasedd Felyn in line 1076 was possibly a victim of an attack by Cynfelyn and his warriors. The 'wild men' with their swift 'movement over the grassy plain', mentioned in 1088-9, belong to the matter out of which the Myrddin legend was constructed. A religious note enters into a reference to Cynfelyn's generosity (see note on 1104 and cf. the discussion on pp. lvi-lx). There is mention of the fortress of Eidyn, *Eidyn gaer* (CA 54, 1385), and of the 'horses of

Eithinyn' (ibid., 1388), whose name occurs in *Y Gododdin* (406, 411, 416, 424), where he is described as a 'magnificent horseman before the Gododdin' (410). Towards the end of the *Gorchan* there occurs the obviously late statement that 'three men and three score and three hundred went to the land of Catraeth', and that of these only three returned, which is linked to a similar statement in stanza 22 (see p. xxxii). The *Gorchan* names the three as Cynon and Cadraith and Cadlew of Cadnant and in stanza 22 they are described as 'the two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon'. As in the twenty-second stanza, too, the poet of the *Gorchan* refers to his own return, or escape, from his 'blood-letting', and this is followed by the assertion that he, a 'true son of prophecy', was ransomed with a payment of gold, steel and silver. Here we have instances of the development of a saga concerning Aneirin which has already been mentioned (see p. xxvi). The description of him as a 'son of prophecy' should be set alongside comparable beliefs about the powers possessed by Taliesin and Myrddin, traditionally regarded as contemporaries of Aneirin.

The short *Gorchan* of Adebon (or Addefon) bears no relation to the battle of Catraeth but is a collection of proverbial and gnomic statements, possibly a surviving fragment from a longer poem on such a theme. By the sixteenth century, however, Aneirin had acquired a reputation as a sage or wise man and a series of verses embodying proverbial matter, *Englynion y Misoedd* ('The Stanzas of the Months'), was ascribed to him. No doubt *Gorchan Adebon* played its part in this development, which may also be linked to the phrase *mab coel* in *Gorchan Cynfelyn*. Taliesin's reputation for wisdom, as well as his possession of the gift of prophecy, may be compared.

The *Gorchan* of Maeldderw is attributed in the manuscript to Taliesin. Although it contains a reference to the 'fortress of Eidyn' it does not appear to be concerned with the matter of *Y Gododdin*. It is extremely obscure and has hitherto defied all attempts at a satisfactory elucidation.

Of the four *Gorchanau*, the two which bear a relation to the battle of Catraeth (and are here translated in part) are those of Tudfwlch and Cynfelyn. The three American scholars, Kathryn Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve Sweetser,

have expressed the view, based on metrical considerations, that the *Gorchanau* probably ante-date *Y Gododdin*. The late characteristics which are apparent in the content of the *Gorchanau* of Tudfwlch and Cynfelyn (not to speak of the whole subject-matter of *Gorchan Adebon*), however, could be adduced to support a contrary opinion. Indeed, unless the metrical considerations on which the American scholars base their views were found completely to outweigh all others, it would be reasonable to conclude that the two *Gorchanau* in question were poems composed in Gwynedd to celebrate the memory of warriors from that region who had been members of Mynyddog's war-band and fallen at Catraeth. This would probably have occurred after the arrival of the original poem in Wales, presumably in Gwynedd itself. The hypothesis receives some support from line 1101, *Gwarchan Cynfelyn ar Ododdin* ('The *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn, [joined] to *Y Gododdin*'), which may be derived from a marginal note in an early manuscript.

Authenticity, Date and Transmission

As has already been said (see p. xxix), the aim of this edition is to present *Y Gododdin* as it appeared to those who preserved it in the thirteenth century and to their fairly immediate predecessors. If we subtract from the text as many of the obvious and less obvious interpolations and additions as we can, we are left with a not inconsiderable, if somewhat indeterminate, remainder which poses the problem whether it, or a part of it, was the authentic work of a northern poet known as Aneirin (or Neirin) who was believed to have sung about the year 600 to commemorate the war-band of Mynyddog after its disastrous expedition to Catraeth. Welsh tradition since the Middle Ages asserts the genuineness of the poem's claim to authenticity, as well as of similar claims made on behalf of a number of other poems such as those in praise of Urien Rheged ascribed to Taliesin. In the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries these claims were the subject of much criticism and scepticism, but they were vigorously reasserted in 1918, largely on linguistic, textual and historical grounds, by Sir John Morris-Jones, more

particularly in respect of the Urien poetry, in his volume *Taliesin*. In 1932 this view was reinforced, on more general literary grounds, by the Chadwicks in *The Growth of Literature* (Vol. 1). Sir Ifor Williams's *Canu Aneirin* appeared in 1938, and in the concluding sentence of a lengthy and detailed introduction Sir Ifor committed himself to the view that 'we can now begin to believe with a considerable degree of confidence that the main body of the poem' (for which he used the rather poetic expression *corff y gainc*) 'is the authentic work of the poet Aneirin'. Some critics have detected behind this statement a measure of enthusiasm for his case which is less than consistent with the objectivity expected of a scholar. It should, however, be pointed out that Sir Ifor not only makes full allowance for interpolations in the text, but admits that the argument for Aneirin's authorship of *Y Gododdin* 'is not specific or direct, but circumstantial' in character. It consists principally, he avers, of such considerations as the archaic nature of much of the language of the poem, the similarity of some of its metres to those found in other seventh-century poems such as the Strathclyde stanza on Domnall Brecc, *Moliant Cadwallon* and *Marwnad Cynddylan*, and its consistently northern geographical and historical setting. In particular, he stresses the tenuous nature of the link between the members of Mynyddog's war-band and Wales. Only a handful of their names (Bradwen, Gwlgod, Cynon) found a place in medieval narrative tradition. Despite the very early link with Cunedda, they were a people apart and no medieval Welsh ruling family claimed descent from them. In addition, their story was one of total failure and disaster, and no use could be made of it for purposes of political prophecy or entertainment. Spurious poems were sometimes composed (e.g. in Ireland) in praise of early chieftains or heroes, and attributed to poets who were reputed to be their contemporaries, in the interest of later rulers who claimed them as ancestors, but in the case of *Y Gododdin* such a forgery would have been pointless, indeed inconceivable, for the warriors of Mynyddog's war-band had no descendants in medieval Wales. The poem was simply a part of the ancient Welsh literary heritage, preserved by memory and declaimed in the royal courts in order to inspire generations of young warriors to emulate

and be worthy of their predecessors in the far distant North. The gulf between the events depicted in it and the life of the communities of medieval Wales was, however, probably the reason why a fully-constructed saga did not develop about Aneirin.

These arguments were further developed by Professor Jackson in his volume *The Gododdin* (pp. 56-67). In particular he stressed another point made by Sir Ifor, namely that the poet of *Y Gododdin* appeared to be praising and mourning warriors who were personally known to him, and whose individual characteristics he remembered. He may himself have been an eye-witness of their fall, so that a sense of intense personal loss appears in many of his elegies, as for instance in stanza 80 (on this subject however cf. p. lvii above). In the course of his discussion Professor Jackson expresses his firm conviction that *Y Gododdin*, and its *Gorchanau*, 'were indeed put together quite soon after the battle [of Catraeth], and that the battle itself may fairly be dated "about 600".' He, however, adds the qualification that during the two or more centuries after 600 a 'considerable degree of modernisation of language' occurred, involving the shedding of 'obsolete words and archaic grammatical forms and constructions' and their replacement by 'neologisms' and 'some newer metrical features'. Only in this sense, quite apart from the question of interpolations and spurious alterations of the text, he argues, can the poems in the Book of Aneirin be considered to be the 'genuine' work of the sixth-century poet to whom they are ascribed. Such textual changes were, of course, natural and inevitable during a lengthy period of oral transmission. In admitting them, Jackson sought to meet the objections of Professor David Greene and others who insisted that *Y Gododdin* contained linguistic features which dated it in the ninth, but not the sixth, century.

On the question of the transmission of *Y Gododdin* Jackson suggests that in the first instance, after the fall of the kingdom of Gododdin to the Northumbrians in, or about, 638, the poem was preserved in Strathclyde, which maintained its independence for some three and a half centuries after the other Brythonic territories of the North had been conquered and absorbed. (This is a possibility which seems

to have escaped Sir Ifor Williams.) The suggestion is rendered probable by the presence in both texts of *Y Gododdin* of the stanza on Domnall Brecc. It is certainly feasible to envisage a contingent of exiles from the Gododdin lands who during the seventh century found a refuge at the court of Strathclyde and who treasured Aneirin's poem as their only remaining link with their lost homeland. The history of the text during this very early stage is, of course, a matter of pure speculation, but Professor Jackson thinks that much of the process of corruption to which it was subjected occurred in Strathclyde. This was the period of oral transmission. Then, Jackson suggests, a written text of the poem arrived in Wales in the early ninth century, a little over two hundred years after the date of its original composition, together with a quantity of other northern material such as genealogies, the Taliesin poems, and traditions or legends associated with the story of Urien, the battle of Arfderydd, etc. This presumably would have been the B text, but in Jackson's opinion *Y Gododdin* was probably known orally in Wales at a very much earlier date than the ninth century. This is shown by the occurrence of a *Gododdin* phrase, *Caeog cynhorog* (cf. lines 31, 49, 56) in the seventh-century poem *Moliant Cadwallon*. The argument, of course, assumes that the latter poem was contemporaneous with the events of 633-4 with which it is concerned.

The problem was discussed further in 1979 by T. M. Charles-Edwards in 'The Authenticity of the *Gododdin*: an Historian's View' (*Ast. Hen.*, 44-71). After closely analysing the conceptual content of the A and B versions, he gives it as his view that both express 'the same integrated system of ideas' and concludes that 'we do, therefore, know the substance of that early version of the poem, incorporating the verse on the battle of Strathcarron and the reciter's preface, which was current in the North in the century or so after the final collapse of the kingdom of the Gododdin'. He adds that the question whether this version was the authentic work of Aneirin belongs to 'the sphere of *a priori* probability'. There is always the possibility that *Y Gododdin* was later than c. 600 and consists of 'a poem in praise of famous ancestors of Gododdin refugees in Strath-

clyde put into the mouth of a participant in the expedition to Catraeth, Aneirin', but the weight of probability, Charles-Edwards argues, is all the other way and it can be claimed that 'the B text is relatively close to the original'. It is only 'in favourable circumstances', such as a close correspondence between the two texts, that we can establish the wording of the original, but there is no reason to doubt that the two surviving versions 'establish the essential nature of the poem' and that in this sense it can be regarded as the authentic work of Aneirin.

Charles-Edwards also speculates, without arriving at a firm conclusion, on such possibilities as that 'the two versions share a common tradition at least until about the middle of the seventh century', that 'the date at which they began to diverge should not be put much later than about 700', and that 'for a considerable period, one version circulated in the North and the other in Wales'. This latter suggestion should be placed alongside that of Professor Jackson that a manuscript text, the basis of version B, arrived in Wales early in the ninth century but that a version of the poem had been known there since a much earlier date. This early version, without doubt orally transmitted, would many centuries later have provided the basis for the A text, extended, interpolated and modernized to a degree. The interpolations discussed above (pp. lxiii-lxiv), which indicate the growth of saga in connection with traditions concerning the battle of Catraeth, all occur in the A but not in the B text. They are found in the stanzas which tell of Aneirin's escape from the battle (22) and of his imprisonment in an underground dwelling and his rescue therefrom by Cenau son of Llywarch (49, 50), and in that which gives the numbers of those who went to Catraeth and of those who survived the battle as, respectively, three hundred and sixty-three and three (22). To these must be added the reference to Myrddin in stanza 45. It is not found in the B text and this tends to confirm the view of those who think that the name 'Myrddin' was of purely Welsh provenance and was not known in northern tradition. On the whole the stanzas with a religious content are found in the A text, but three lines in B (238, 617 and 895) are exceptions to this and confirm the plea made on p. lviii for a measure of caution before adjudging religious references in

all cases to be late. There are also at least five lines of elegiac sentiment in the B text (420, 550, 870, 878 and 896), but in the vast majority of its stanzas it is certainly true to say that the considerations given prominence are almost exclusively the values of the heroic milieu. The A text no doubt contains within itself a core deriving from the original poem which may be presumed to have arrived in Wales in the seventh century. As a text, both oral and written at a later date, it must have existed independently of the B text, despite the possible arrival of the latter in a written form in the ninth century, until the two were brought together in the same manuscript by the scribes of the Book of Aneirin some time before c. 1300. It would be hazardous to attempt to date the interpolations which found their way into the text during this period of six centuries, and indeed in many cases even to specify some of them. The Cyny *englyn*, which is unconnected with the matter of *Y Gododdin*, cannot at the earliest be pre-mid-ninth century. The lullaby could have arrived in Wales at the same time as *Y Gododdin* but without at first being regarded as a part of it, though later incorporated in the text. The stanza on the battle of Strathcarron occurs in both A and B texts and, being concerned with an event of Strathclyde history, may have been brought to Wales in conjunction with the oral version of *Y Gododdin* and thought to be one of its stanzas. As the 'Reciter's Prologue' is also found in both texts a fairly early rather than late date must be presumed for its composition (cf. p. lxiii above) if we accept the hypothesis that the A text arrived in Wales in its original form before c. 700. The reference to Arthur in stanza 99, of which there is no corresponding A version, is of course not necessarily an interpolation but could have been included in the original poem. If it was interpolated, this could have happened in the North at any time before the arrival of the written B text in Wales in the course of the ninth century.

Although territorial contact between the Welsh of Wales and the Britons of the North was severed not long after 600, there were two subsequent occasions on which they were effectively restored in a military sense for brief periods during which there would have been ample opportunities for a minstrel, bard or bardic reciter to transmit

an oral version of *Y Gododdin* to Wales. In the year 633-4 Cadwallon ap Cadfan, with an army from Gwynedd and allied to Penda of Mercia, invaded Northumbria and re-established Welsh rule in that territory. As we have seen, the probably contemporary poem *Moliant Cadwallon* not only uses the phrase *Caeog cynhorog*, but refers to 'the grief of Catraeth, great and famous'. Its author may therefore have known of Aneirin's poem but, on Charles-Edwards's dating, 634 would have been too early for the inclusion in the latter of the 'Reciter's Prologue' or, of course, of the Strathclyde stanza, which could not have been composed before 642. Cadwallon was defeated and killed in 634, but twenty-one years later, in 655, another ruler of Gwynedd, Cadafael ap Cynfedw, again allied to Penda, invaded the North and enjoyed the fruits of a brief victory. Returning with their spoils through Deira both he and Penda were, however, unexpectedly challenged to battle by the Northumbrian king, Oswy. Penda met the challenge at the battle of Winwaed Field and was slain. Cadafael chose discretion before valour, leaving for Gwynedd the night before the battle with all his men and thereby earning the opprobrious nickname Cadafael Cadomedd, 'Battle-seizer, Battle-decliner'. It is conceivable that among his men was a reciter who brought an early form of the A text of *Y Gododdin* to Wales. In that case, very ironically, had Cadafael and his men conducted themselves in conformity with the code of honour prescribed by the poem, this version might easily have been lost.

The hypotheses discussed in this section and tentatively adopted as probabilities or possibilities call for a short summary. In its original form *Y Gododdin* was probably composed at Din Eidyn c. 600 or shortly afterwards. Following the fall of the kingdom of Gododdin about 638 it was taken by a group of exiles to the court of Strathclyde, where it was preserved orally and also began to acquire additions and interpolations such as the 'Reciter's Prologue' and the stanza on the battle of Strathcarron. In the course of the seventh century it was brought to Wales where it later assumed a written form which provided a basis for the A text in the Book of Aneirin. During six or more centuries of transmission this text absorbed a large number of additions, interpolations, changes and corruptions. Early in

the ninth century another text, in manuscript form, arrived in Wales from Strathclyde. This had also undergone the vagaries of transmission in the North. The B text in the Book of Aneirin is derived from it, or from a copy of it, and as it is written in an older orthography than A it is probably much nearer to the original poem. Only a proportion of the stanzas (less than thirty) occur in both texts, albeit with many variants. The greater number of the stanzas are found either in the one text or in the other. Though this fact does not necessarily preclude the possibility that they belonged to the original poem, there is obviously a strong presumption in favour of those stanzas which are found in both texts.

Metrical Features

While a superficial description of the metres of *Y Gododdin* might not appear to present great difficulty, in a profounder sense its metrics abound with intractable problems. These were the subject of a penetrating and wide-ranging exploratory study by Professor D. Ellis Evans in 1978 (*Ast. Hen.*, 89-122) in which he emphasized that *Y Gododdin*, like all the other instances of *Hengerdd*, not only stood at the threshold of the development of the medieval Welsh system of versecraft, but was also the inheritor of many centuries of tradition reaching back to Celtic times. Classical writers refer to the 'bards' of the Gauls who, to the accompaniment of lyres, chanted the praise of the warriors and great ones of the land. Although similar evidence referring to the British Celts is lacking, there can be no doubt that such a tradition, deeply rooted in the Brythonic period, lay behind the earliest Welsh poetry which is extant. It is important to bear this in mind in considering not only the conceptual content of the poetry, which in the case of *Y Gododdin* may up to a point be idiosyncratic, but also its form. In this and in all other printed editions, as in the Book of Aneirin itself, *Y Gododdin* is a 'literary' phenomenon, accessible by means of silent perusal to a reader whose primary interest may lie in its formal diction, its imagery, its values or the social life which it reflects. For those who constituted its audience at

the time of its composition, however, these aspects of the poem were a part of the air which they breathed, and were taken by them for granted. They were an 'audience' in the strict sense of the word, for they did not sit down to read *Y Gododdin*, but heard it publically recited or declaimed. The sounds of the poem, its rhythms, cadences, stresses, consonantal and vowel correspondences, the reciter's voice-inflexions and indeed the entire musicality of his mode of declamation, were therefore of its very essence. They were essential features of the poem's 'metrics', but are today irrecoverable except very marginally by a liberal and imaginative use of hypothesis.

In the written and printed form in which it has been preserved, however, the principal metrical features of *Y Gododdin* can be briefly catalogued and described using 'modern' terminology. Unlike the *awdlau* attributed to Taliesin, as has been noted (p. xxix), it is stanzaic. Most of the stanzas contain from six to a dozen lines, but a number of exceptions occur, such as stanzas 2, 14, 18, 19, 20, 83, 85 and 95, which respectively have 20, 16, 28, 24, 19, 28, 23 and 19 lines. Stanzas 8, which has 4 lines, and 96, which has 3, are even more exceptional. Line-lengths in these stanzas are not constant in terms of syllable counts, but they generally vary between nine and eleven syllables. Rhyme is used throughout the poem. In over half of the stanzas one main rhyme is sustained to the end of the stanza, but in a large number the rhymes are changed, as in stanzas 1, 2, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 38, 43, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 69, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92, 94, 95, 99 and 100. Some stanzas contain several different rhymes, e.g. there are six in 2, eight or nine in 18, five in 26 and eight in 95. Quite elaborate rhyming patterns are frequently employed, but in some cases the variations in rhyming may indicate that sets of lines from originally distinct stanzas have been grouped together. Internal rhyme is used as well as *cyrch-odli*, and other embellishments include half-rhyme and *cyseinedd* (see below).

The longer lines usually carry four stresses but there are a number of stanzas containing lines of seven, eight or nine syllables which carry three, such as 11, 13 and 31. In some stanzas lines with three stresses alternate with lines of

four. A different pattern is found in stanzas such as 2, 18, 19, 42, 82 and 92 which consist of short lines (sometimes described as 'half-lines') of four or five syllables and two stresses, and in which a somewhat varied rhyme-scheme is exhibited. Again another pattern, frequently repeated, occurs in stanza 25, here printed in long lines of twelve syllables, but capable of division into three units or short lines of four syllables and two stresses. The first two short lines rhyme with each other, while the third sustains the main rhyme (or rhymes) of the stanza. In 59 there are four short lines and the fourth sustains the main rhyme, but also contains within it a word which rhymes with the end-word in the first, second and third lines, and this pattern is repeated twice. Stanza 20 contains some intricate metrical modes which Professor Ellis Evans has described as a 'foretaste of later "strict" metres'. A detailed comparative study of these (and other) features of *Y Gododdin*'s metrics would be too technical to be appropriate here and is not attempted, but readers who wish to pursue the subject further may be referred to the works on metrics listed in the Bibliography. It should, however, be observed that in a closely reasoned discussion Klar, O Hehir and Sweetser have proposed the hypothesis that 'the basis of Aneirin metrics is a very short line of two stresses or fewer' and that 'the oldest discernible stratum of Welsh poetics [is] constructed of syllabically variable lines with two metrical stresses, with a catalectic single-stress variant'. Other metrical patterns in *Y Gododdin*, they argue, were evolved from this basis and represent 'the work of more than one generation'. They regard the *Gorchanau* as probably the oldest compositions in the Book of Aneirin and (adopting a suggestion made by Saunders Lewis) are prepared to view these poems as 'bardic teaching material' or 'master's work set as models for emulation', of which some sections of *Y Gododdin* are imitations. They describe the *Gorchanau* as 'the most virtuoso performances' in the Book of Aneirin, but the case in favour of an early date for their composition would need to be reconciled with the late elements found among their contents to which attention has been drawn above (pp. lxv-lxviii).

Among other metrical features of *Y Gododdin* are internal rhymes, *cyrch-odli*, half-rhymes and alliterative

correspondences. Internal rhymes are found in such lines as 67-9 (*Ododdin, chwerthin; nhrin, lläin; flynedd, hedd*) or 78-81 (*Gatraeth, ffraeth; hancwyn, gwenwyn; trychant, beiriant; elwch, tawelwch.*) In Early Welsh, as a result of the loss of final syllables in Brittonic words, stress was on the last as opposed to the penultimate syllable. Later, no doubt very gradually, it moved to the penultimate, but the date by which this accent-shift was completed is at present the subject of debate. In an early period of composition final-stress rhymes such as *Ododdín, chwerthín* would have been effective embellishments. This would also have been true of an interim period during which stress might have been roughly equal on penultimate and ultimate syllables, so that internal rhyming in which words of more than one syllable are involved is no proof of a very early date. Examples of *cyrch-odli* are found in stanza 20, in which *fehyr* and *gwŷr*, respectively at the ends of lines 213 and 214, rhyme with *eryr* within line 215; there are other instances in the same stanza, such as the rhyming of *enaid* and *grybwylliaid* in 223 and 224 with *llifaid* in 225. The phenomenon is of frequent occurrence. Further examples are *ddydd* (313) rhyming with *gowychydd* in 314, *mid* (433) with *crynid* in 434, and *llwyd* (630) with *bwyd* in 631. It will be noted that these *cyrch*-rhymes lie outside the main rhymes of the stanzas in which they occur.

Half-rhymes, also sometimes described as 'old', 'generic' or 'Irish' rhymes, involve certain variations of consonants combined with identical vowels or diphthongs. Thus *awr* at the end of 33 rhymes with *nawdd* within 34, as *hofnawr* at the end of 95 rhymes with *ymdaflawdd* at the end of 96. Similarly *arfedd* (173) rhymes with *fedel* (174), *enwawg* with *gwirawd* in 240-1 (cf. also 242-3), *lleithig* with *adwenid* (384-5), *gorug* with *eisyllud* (485-6), *garedd* with *ryfel* (495-6), *arf* with *chwardd* (507-8), *esgar* with *Gwrhafal* (679-80), *galch* with *dywarch* (862-3), *dëyrnedd* with *grybwyller* (929-30). The rhyme *bedryollt, fygedorth* (297-8) has occasioned some debate concerning its value as possible evidence of early dating (cf. note).

As a poem *Y Gododdin* was completed before the full evolution of the elaborate system of sound-correspondences known as *cynghanedd*, as well as of the associated system of 'strict' metres. An embryonic form of alliterative embellishment, or *cyseinedd*, is however frequently used. This consists in the repetition, one or more times, of initial consonantal or vowel sounds within a line or couplet. Examples are the repetition of *C-* in *Caeog, cynifiad* (40) and *Caeog, cynhorog* (49, 56), of *Ff* in *Ffyrf, ffrwythlon* (85), of *B-* and *ll-* in *Blwyddyn bu llawen llawer cerddawr* (103), of *ll-* (cf. also *-f-*) in *Â llafn llifaid lladdai* (225). *M-* is used four times in *Medd yfynt melyn melys maglawr* (102), a line which also includes an internal rhyme of first syllables, *mel-*, and the series *B-, br-, br-, b* occurs in *Bysedd brych briwant bar* (510), which invites comparison with the famous line *Beirdd byd barnant ŵr o galon* (276). Even more striking is 741, *Peleidr pwys periglyn pen periglawr*, in which each word has an initial *P*. Combinations of vowel and consonantal alliteration (*ang-, am-*) are found in such lines as *Arf anghynnull, anghyman ddull, anghysgoged* (263) and *Ambwyll, amddistair, amddistardd, Ambwyll, amroddig, amrychwardd* (511-12).

In *Canu Aneirin* (lxxvi-lxxxv) Sir Ifor Williams pointed out that if certain lines of *Y Gododdin* were rewritten in Old Welsh orthography it would be possible to discern alliterative correspondences which are not apparent in these lines in their medieval dress, and asked whether in the very early period the alliteration of certain consonants and their lenited or mutated forms was permissible. The suggestion has received some guarded support, but would be inappropriate for discussion here. Sir Ifor Williams brought it forward as a possible argument for the antiquity of *Y Gododdin*. It is a problem to which the closest and most detailed linguistic analysis should be applied, as is indeed the whole question of early Welsh versification. Such research should lead to firmer conclusions concerning the date of composition of the poem, or of its various parts. Only then would it be profitable to broach the question whether a relationship existed between its conceptual contents and its various metrical features.

The Fame of *Y Gododdin*

It has already been noted that the poem *Moliant Cadwallon*, which refers to events of the seventh century, contains a phrase (*Caeog cynhorog*) used in stanzas of *Y Gododdin*, and also mentions 'the grief of Catraeth, great and famous'. The earliest surviving specific references to Aneirin and his poem are probably those found in the 'Reciter's Prologue'. The references in stanza 49, where *Y Gododdin*, Aneirin and Taliesin are named, are comparable in so far as they were certainly not a part of the original poem. Aneirin (or Neirin) is also mentioned, as we have seen, together with Taliesin and other poets of repute, in the northern memoranda attached to the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*. His name is further linked to that of Taliesin in a medieval poem of a vaticinatory character entitled *Anrheg Urien*, which appears to present the two early poets as engaged in a dialogue. And a poem of the Taliesin saga, *Angar Cyfyndawd*, lists four of the poets of the *Historia Brittonum*, namely Taliesin, Cian, Talhaearn and 'Aneirin of the measureless muse' or 'inspiration' (a rendering which depends on the emendation of the Ms. reading *Ef ae rin* to *Aneirin*). This latter description recalls that in the Triads (see above, p. xxvi), which refers to 'Aneirin of Flowing Verse, Prince of Poets'. These references, though not numerous, are evidence of Aneirin's standing and reputation as a poet among those who were concerned with the preservation of the Welsh literary tradition. It will be observed, however, that they mostly do not name the work ascribed to him. This was remedied by the thirteenth-century court poet Dafydd Benfras who, in an *awdl* to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (ob. 1240), besought God to empower him 'to sing praise like Aneirin of yore, the day he sang *Gododdin*'. The poem also mentions Myrddin and Taliesin. An earlier poet, Owain ap Gruffudd ap Maredudd or Owain Cyfeiliog, who was a ruling prince of Powys (ob. 1197), composed a vigorous poem of some hundred and fifty lines, *Hirlas Owain*, in which he shows a familiarity with *Y Gododdin*, although he does not mention it by name. The setting of the poem, in Owain's court, is warlike and heroic as the drinking-cup *Hirlas* is filled and passed from one warrior to another to celebrate a successful expedition against the enemy. In one passage the poet records the tradition that the war-band of Mynyddog went forth, for the payment of mead, to their death at Catraeth, and that for this 'they were praised'. He adds that 'my warriors did not do worse at the battle of Maelor'. Although Owain's men had suffered casualties, their expedition, unlike that of Mynyddog's war-band, had achieved its purpose, which was the freeing of a prisoner. It is not known whether *Y Gododdin* was declaimed or recited in order to incite warriors to martial deeds before their engagement in combat, but this would have been consistent with the practice of many medieval heroic communities, as in the case of the battle of Hastings in 1066 when the warrior-*jongleur* Taillefer is said to have sung the *Song of Roland* before the fighting began. Other similar instances are attested both in French and Germanic tradition, and indeed certain texts of the Welsh Law of Hywel prescribe that the song of *Unbeiniaeth Prydain* ('The Sovereignty of Britain') should be sung before going to battle.

Some further late medieval references to Aneirin and *Y Gododdin* occur, but they are infrequent. The Triads also list the 'Retinue of Mynyddog Eidyn [at Catraeth]' as one of the 'Three Noble Retinues of the Island of Britain'. We have already seen that Gwlgod Gododdin is mentioned in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*, and that Cynon son of Clydno became an Arthurian character (pp. xxxii-xxxiii). During the period of the *cywydd* poets, however, i.e. roughly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, Aneirin and his poem seem to have been forgotten and the significance of the heroic laudation of the men of Catraeth to have been lost. From the sixteenth century onwards, as we have seen (p. xxvii), Aneirin acquired a new reputation as a sage and moralist and the reputed author of a body of gnomic verse. This new 'tradition' has been studied in some detail by Morfydd E. Owen, who suggests that its origin should probably be linked with the inclusion of *Gorchan Adebon* in the Book of Aneirin. As far as we know, this manuscript contained the only medieval copy of *Y Gododdin*, though the existence of earlier copies of the poem or of parts of it must be presumed. Had the manuscript been lost in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, we

would today know nothing about Aneirin and his poem, the retinue of Mynyddog and the expedition to Catraeth, apart from what with good reason could be described as a few obscure and mystifying allusions in the Triads and the poems of Owain Cyfeiliog and Dafydd Benfras. The Book of Aneirin, as has been noted (p. xiv), is the source of all the later copies of *Y Gododdin*, which are the products of the antiquarian interests of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Interest in *Y Gododdin* as a poem revived during the eighteenth century. In his work *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*, published in 1764, Evan Evans (Ieuan Fardd) printed ten stanzas from a late manuscript, together with Latin translations which were very laudable having regard to the unsatisfactory character of the text. Describing *Y Gododdin* as perhaps the oldest poem in Europe, apart from those of the Greeks and Romans, he complained of its obscurity but declared that, as far as it was comprehensible to him, it was a 'splendid work'. His discussion included the very percipient comment that, in view of *Y Gododdin*'s difficult text, he entertained grave doubts concerning the translation of the poems attributed to Ossian which was in vogue at that time. Ieuan Fardd had 'discovered' Aneirin's poem in a transcript by Sir Thomas Wiliems (c. 1550-c. 1622) and his real feelings about it were probably much less guarded than would appear from his comments in the *Specimens*. This is shown by a letter written in 1758 by his mentor Lewis Morris to Edward Richard, another member of the so-called 'Morrisian' circle. This reads as follows: 'Who do you think I have at my elbow, as happy as ever Alexander thought himself after a conquest? No less a man than Ieuan Fardd, who hath discovered some old MSS lately that no body of this age or the last ever as much as dreamed of. And this discovery is to him and me as great as that of America by Columbus. We have found an epic Poem in the British called Gododin (*sic*), equal at least to the Iliad, Æneid or Paradise Lost. Tudfwlch and Marchlew are heroes fiercer than Achilles and Satan'. Evans had communicated his discovery to Thomas Percy and in his reply, dated Oct. 15, 1761, the eminent English scholar exclaimed, 'How strongly is one's curiosity piqued by the mention you make ... of the Epic Poem, wrote in 570, and the other works of *Aneirin Gwawdrydd*? What a noble field for literary application to rescue such a fine monument of antiquity from that oblivion; to which every revolving year of delay will more certainly consign it, till it is lost for ever!'

This renewed interest in *Y Gododdin* led to the printing of a text, albeit inferior, of the poem in 1801 in *the Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, and a defence of its authenticity and antiquity by the Anglo-Saxon scholar Sharon Turner in a work entitled *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Antient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen and Merdhin, with Specimens of the Poems*, published in 1803. The volume was an early document of the debate concerning the degree of antiquity of the 'ancient' Welsh poems which has persisted in various forms to the present day. Turner's stance in the debate was clearly expressed in the title of his book. His arguments were of a general rather than philological character, and were based on considerations of probability having regard to the background and contents of the poems. During the nineteenth century texts and translations of *Y Gododdin* were published by writers such as William Probert (1820), W. F. Skene (1868), and Thomas Stephens (1888, ed. by T. Powel). Skene and Stephens were principally interested in the poem as a historical document. In 1911 Edward Anwyl published a prose translation, together with an introductory discussion of the poem's historical background as well as its literary characteristics. He noted its 'singular directness' and 'remarkable conciseness' of style and its 'dignified eschewing of all superfluities even of ornament'. He did not, however, see it as a poem cast in the heroic mould, as a modern critic would, but rather as one which extracted 'a melancholy pleasure even from the contemplation of disaster', and discerned in it 'the influence of conceptions of humanity which have a singularly modern ring', as in the lines *Seiniesyd ei gleddyf ym mhen mamau* (309) and *Llawer mam a'i deigr ar ei hamrant* (538, cf. note). Anwyl perceived 'a certain maturity of development' in *Y Gododdin*, which led him to the conclusion that 'whatever may have been the history of Early Welsh poetry, it is certainly not in the Gododin (*sic*) that we are to look for its crude beginnings'. A rearranged and emended

text, together with a metrical rhyming translation, of five hundred and twenty lines of the poem was published by T. Gwynn Jones in 1922, accompanied by an imaginative and vividly written introductory appreciation. Here the author showed himself more prepared than Anwyl to treat *Y Gododdin* as a heroic poem, reflecting the ideals of 'a fighting aristocracy' and depicting 'the pride, the pomp, the fury and raw savagery of war', although he followed Anwyl in making the improbable suggestion that there is in it 'a touch of pity for bereaved mothers, even of the enemy'. T. Gwynn Jones added a text, with translation, of Owain Cyfeiliog's *Hirlas Owain* to that of *Y Gododdin*. His criticism of both poems had been much influenced by his own reaction to the war of 1914-18, and he ended his commentary with the statement that 'the association of war and religion cannot fail to strike anyone who can still think of the last few years of human experience. Men change very little—they only change their terms'.

Twentieth-century translations of *Y Gododdin* include those by Jackson (1969) and Clancy (1970) as well as various stanzas in anthologies of renderings of Welsh verse. A version in modern Welsh by Gwyn Thomas was published in 1970. Scholarly studies of the poem, its language, background and contents, have been numerous. Among them are the introductory sections to Professor Jackson's translation as well as a series of contributions to *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd/Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, (1978), a volume produced by members of *Cylch yr Hengerdd* which met regularly for a number of years as a seminar at Jesus College, Oxford, under the chairmanship of Sir Idris Foster, to study various aspects of early Welsh verse. All modern work on *Y Gododdin*, however, must take as its starting-point the monumental edition of the poem by Sir Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*, which appeared in 1938 and represented the culmination of nearly forty years of unremitting research. It included the text of the poem and of the *Gorchanau*, three hundred and thirty-eight tightly packed pages of textual notes, mainly lexicographical in character, and an introduction of over eighty pages in which the poem's text and contents, authorship, geographical and historical background, language, metrics, and possible or probable antiquity and

authenticity were examined. Subsequent studies have, of course, modified some of, and added much to, Sir Ifor's conclusions.

It appears, rather oddly, that when he was working on *Canu Aneirin* Sir Ifor Williams was unaware of the equally monumental work of the Chadwicks on comparative literature, *The Growth of Literature*, the first volume of which, published in 1932, dealt extensively with early Welsh verse. That this was so is confirmed by the occurrence of a sole, undoubtedly belated, reference to it in a footnote in *Canu Aneirin*, p. lxxxv. In that famous and seminal work the Chadwicks established the comparative significance and importance of early and medieval Welsh literature, and heroic panegyric in particular, as one of the five 'ancient literatures of Europe'. Indeed, many years earlier in *The Heroic Age*, published in 1912, H. M. Chadwick had insisted on the early character of the thought contained in the poems attributed to Taliesin and Aneirin despite the 'corrupt and often unintelligible form in which they are preserved'. Chadwick was not himself a specialist in Welsh, and may have exaggerated the unintelligibility of the texts we possess. He felt sufficient confidence in his own interpretation of them, however, to be prepared to challenge the prevailing view 'that they [were] scholastic products of a later age, based upon chronicles and composed with the intention of glorifying the ancestry of some distinguished Welsh families'. He noted that this view, advocated in particular by Anwyl, was largely based on the contention that 'the language of the poems cannot possibly represent the form of Welsh spoken in the sixth or seventh century'. His comment on this was that the argument was 'scarcely decisive' as parts of the poems had for lengthy periods probably been subjected to a process of modernization. Anticipating the opinions of many later scholars, he added two further considerations: 'I find it difficult to believe that in order to celebrate the ancestry of certain families poems would be composed recording an action which is represented as an overwhelming disaster for the British forces, such as that described in the Gododin (*sic*) poems. And can it really be proved that many of the heroes celebrated in these poems were claimed as ancestors by families in Wales?'

Referring to the content of the poems attributed to Aneirin and Taliesin, Chadwick asserted that they 'plainly show all the marks of Stage I of our scheme'. To the first stage in the development of heroic poetry Chadwick assigned 'the court-poems of the Heroic Age itself' and the 'laudatory poems dealing with the victories and valour of living princes'. The argument is elaborated in detail in *The Growth of Literature*, in which *Y Gododdin* is described as 'the most famous work in early Welsh literature' (vol. 1, p. 37). The advocacy of the Chadwicks did not, however, immediately secure for the poem the recognition it may be held to deserve. For instance, Jan de Vries, in his *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (1959, Engl. transl. 1963) did not mention *Y Gododdin*, although he referred to the *Mabinogion*, *Culhwch and Olwen*, the Arthurian legend and *Tristan*. Neither is it mentioned in C. M. Bowra's *Heroic Poetry* (1964), presumably because it is not cast in the form of heroic narrative, though that work refers very briefly to 'a number of laments for figures of the heroic age' such as Urien, his son Owain, Cunedda and Cynddylan (p. 22). Among works of modern creative literature, however, the war-poem by David Jones, *In Parenthesis* (1937), was profoundly influenced by it. For many years David Jones had pondered the relevance of *Y Gododdin* to his own war experiences, and a quotation from it precedes each of the seven sections of his poem.

Language

In the Welsh text which follows, as has already been indicated (p. xvi), the poem has been printed in standard modern orthography, with punctuation. Also, scribal corruptions have been corrected when this appeared necessary and feasible, and the exercise of judgement has been required in cases where the text is based on the conflation of readings. There has been no other interference with either the vocabulary or syntax of the original poem and it is hoped that *Y Gododdin* may here be read in a form as close as possible to that in which it was known to those who preserved it in the thirteenth century, and arguably earlier. However, the adjectival termination *-awg* has been replaced by the

modern *-og* in such forms as *caeog*, *cynhorog* (31) and *anfonog* (303), although *anfonawg* (255, 259) and similar forms have been retained in stanzas 23 and 24 in the interest of the rhymes with the medieval *ffosawd*, *nebawd* (253-4; 261-2); cf. *gwirod* (154, etc.), *gwirawd* (170, etc.). The modern *lladdodd* has been used in 925 and 927 for *ladaut* (CA 47), but in 96 *ymdaflawdd*, rhyming with *wawr*, *hofnawr*, etc., has been substituted, as an emendation, for Ms. *emdaflawr*. The plural termination *-awr*, which did not survive in Modern Welsh, has invariably been retained, e.g. *byddinawr* (58), *pennawr* (105). In view of the rhyme-scheme of the stanza, the terminations *-iaw*, *-aw* have been retained in the verb-nouns *ymddulliaw* (68), *benydiaw* (71) and *treiddaw* (73).

The reader will find a grammatical description of every form or lexical item in the Welsh text in the Glossary, and many discussed in the textual Notes. His attention should be drawn to certain verbal formations not used in Modern Welsh, such as the 1st. pers. sing. pres. ind. ending in *-if*, *gwneif* (21); 3rd. sing. pres. ind. endings in *-yd*, *-id: perheyd* (127), *deliyd* (682), *deliid* (429), *gwenid* (848); 3rd. sing. imperf. ind. endings in *-i: sengi* (563), *gogyferchi* (207). There are several 3rd. sing. pret. endings: *-wys: disgynnwys* (681); *-ws* (which still persists in dialect): *mynnws* (92); *-as: talas* (184); *-es: llewes* (116); *-is: edewis* (285); *-esid: heesid* (265); *-esyd: seiniesyd* (309); *-sid: disgynsid* (402). Old impersonal forms which occur are *cwyniador* (ind., 730), *traethiannor* (ind., 729), *gatawr* (subj., 703), *purawr* (? imper., 104). *Gwelideint* (839) and *lleseint* (345) are 3rd. plur. pret. passive forms.

While the vocabulary of *Y Gododdin* differs considerably from that familiar to readers of modern Welsh, its sentence constructions and syntax will be found to be relatively straightforward and uncomplicated. As a result of the unit of thought in the poem being generally the single line, or sometimes couplet, there is much use of nouns and phrases in apposition as well as of adjectival description. The sentence frequently begins with a verb, as in Modern Welsh, e.g. *Dygymyrrws eu hoed eu hanianawr* (101), or *Perheyd ei wryd yn wrfydd* (127), but there are many cases where the subject precedes the verb, either with or without the particle *a*, e.g. *Gwŷr a aeth* (67, 74, etc.), *gwŷr gormant*

aethant cennyn (417), *beirdd byd barnant ŵr o galon* (276). Sometimes the personal pronouns are used in this way: *ef rhwygai* (136), *wy gwnaethant* (109). It will be observed that in some instances a plural noun-subject is followed by a plural verb. A plural verb can also precede a plural subject, e.g. *cwyddyn gyfoedion* (181), but there are sentences in which a plural subject follows a singular verb, as in Modern Welsh, e.g. *cwyddai pum pymwnt* (59). The question whether the concord of plural nouns and verbs is necessarily an indication of an early date of composition is now a matter of debate, as is also that of the significance of the occupation of the initial position in the sentence by the subject rather than the verb.

Lines Omitted

The lines in *Canu Aneirin* which have been omitted from this edition apart from readings rejected where the text has been conflated (for which the Notes may be consulted) are as follows: 227-8, 268-72, 427-8, 488-92, 499-502, 510-13, 521-5, 575-607, 656-67, 674-88, 740, 895-900, 943-8, 1186-89, 1262-75, 1290-3, 1304-5, 1322-59, 1384-9, 1412-80. Most of these lines are in the *Gorchanau*, the second and fourth of which have been omitted entirely.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

General

Y Gododdin was printed from the Book of Aneirin by W. F. Skene in *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii (Edinburgh, 1868), 62-107. For a page by page reproduction of the manuscript, however, see J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The Text of the Book of Aneirin Reproduced and Edited* (Pwllheli, 1908). The standard edition is by Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (Caerdydd, 1938; reprinted 1970). A close translation is given by K. H. Jackson in *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969; reprinted by Edinburgh Paperbacks, 1978).

Reviews of *Canu Aneirin* are by T. Jones, *Yr Efrydydd*, iv, 28-36; Saunders Lewis, *Y Brython*, June 18, 1938; K. Jackson, *Antiquity*, xiii, 25-34; and of *The Gododdin* by P. Ford, *Speculum*, xlv, 140-3; P. Mac Cana, *Celtica*, ix, 316-29; and J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Studia Celtica*, vii, 194-200.

Both *Canu Aneirin* and *The Gododdin* contain a large amount of introductory and explanatory material. For further general discussions see Ifor Williams, 'The Gododdin Poems', chapter V in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry, Studies by Sir Ifor Williams*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1972), 50-69; *idem*, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944; reprinted 1970), 65-70; Colin A. Gresham, 'The Book of Aneirin', *Antiquity*, xvi, 237-57; T. Jones, 'Canu Aneirin', chapter I in *Mân Us: Sgyrsiau ac Ysgrifau* (Caerdydd, 1949), 6-15; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Yr hengerdd. 1. Aneirin, bardd brwydr Catraeth', *Lleufer*, xx, 55-62; Gwyn Thomas in *Y Traddodiad Barddol* (Caerdydd, 1976), 41-50; A. O. H. Jarman, 'Aneirin—The Gododdin', chapter III in *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, volume 1, ed. by A. O. H. Jarman and Gwilym Rees Hughes (Swansea, 1976), 68-80; *idem*, *The Cynfeirdd* (Writers of Wales, Cardiff, 1981), 39-57. *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd/ Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, ed. by R. Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Caerdydd, 1978) contains several chapters on particular aspects of *Y Gododdin* which are referred to below.

More general discussions of early Welsh poetry which include references to *Y Gododdin* are the following: 'The

Celtic Languages and the Beginnings of Literature', ii, in *The Celtic Realms*, by Miles Dillon and Nora K. Chadwick (London, 1967; revised 2nd. ed. 1972), 215-26; R. Bromwich, 'The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition, 1, The Work of the Poets', chapter V in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. by Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954; reprinted 1959), 84-101; Idris Foster, 'Rhai Sylwadau ar yr Hengerdd', in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol V*, ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dinbych, 1970), 15-29.

The Manuscript

For the manuscript of *Y Gododdin* see J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Reports on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, Vol. II.—Part I (London, HMSO, 1902), 91-2; idem, Facsimile and Text of the Book of Aneirin* (Pwllheli, 1908); I. Williams, *Canu Aneirin*, xii-xiv; K. Jackson, *The Gododdin*, 41-3; N. Denholm Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), 44; Gerald Morgan, 'The Book of Aneirin and Welsh Manuscript Prickings', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xx, 12-17. The analysis of the contents of the manuscript by the three American scholars Kathryn A. Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve E. Sweetser will be found in their joint article 'The Components of Cardiff MS. Welsh I, *Llyfr Aneirin*', in ibid., xxxii, 38-49.

The Text

For Jackson's view of the A and B texts see *God.*, 41-6. David Dumville's assessment of the relevance of the orthography of Old Welsh as evidence for dating will be found in his article, 'Palaeographical Considerations in the Dating of Early Welsh Verse', BBCS xxvii, 246-51; for a later Welsh version see 'Ystyriaethau Palaeograffegol wrth ddyddio Barddoniaeth Gymraeg Gynnar', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol XIII*, ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dinbych, 1985), 17-25.

Background

The background, historical and geographical, of the earliest, i.e. sixth and seventh century, Welsh verse is a large subject. The following works, in addition to several already mentioned, should provide the reader with a comprehensive general introduction: 'Struggle of the Cymry and the English', Chapter VI in *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. i, by Sir John Edward Lloyd (London, 1911; 3rd. ed., new impression, 1948), in particular pp. 162-170, 178-91; 'Wales and the North', Chapter VI in Ifor Williams, BWP, 70-88; Nora K. Chadwick, *The British Heroic Age: The Welsh and the Men of the North* (Cardiff, 1976); Myles Dillon and Nora K. Chadwick, *The Celtic Realms*, 72-86; K. H. Jackson, 'On the Northern British Section in Nennius', Chapter I in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. by Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1964), 20-62; Ceri W. Lewis, 'The Historical Background of Early Welsh Verse', Chapter I in GWL, vol. 1, 11-50; J. Morris, *Nennius; British History and The Welsh Annals* (Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1980); R. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (Cardiff, 1961: 2nd. ed. 1978), articles on Aneirin, Gwallog, Rhydderch Hael, Taliesin, Urien, etc., etc. Current doubts concerning the exact location of Catraeth, in view of the archaeological evidence are expressed by Professor Leslie Alcock in his Presidential Address, ' ''Gwŷr Y Gogledd''. An archaeological appraisal'; *Arch. Camb.*, vol. cxxxii (1983), 1-19.

The quotation from W. J. Watson is in his *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 156. For R. Geraint Gruffydd's edition of the poem to Cadwallon see his 'Canu Cadwallon ap Cadfan', Chapter I in *Ast. Hen.*, 25-45; the reference to the possible 'recapture' of Catraeth by Gwallog is on p. 28.

The Poet

For the forms *Neirin*, *Aneirin* and their probable derivation see CA lxxxvii. The quotation from T. M. Charles-Edwards referring to the 'Reciter's Prologue' will be found in *Ast. Hen.*, 65. The references to Aneirin as a character in a saga, and particularly to his later reputation as a seer, moralist and philosopher, are discussed by Morfydd E. Owen in ' ''Hwn yw E Gododdin, Aneirin ae Cant'' ', Chapter V in *Ast. Hen.*, 123-50.

The Poem

In *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxii, 9-10, T. Gwynn Jones suggested that the aim of Mynyddog's expedition was 'the freeing of

someone from captivity', and in TYP 469 R. Bromwich tentatively advanced the view that such a person could have been Mynyddog himself, which 'would account for the somewhat surprising fact that Mynyddawg did not accompany his warriors on the expedition, and yet he receives no opprobrium, either in the poem or in any other source, for having allowed his personal *gosgordd* to fight in his absence'. In the second edition of TYP, 559, however, she grants the very speculative nature of the suggestion.

R. Bromwich's study of Cynon will be found in her article, 'Cynon Fab Clydno', *Ast. Hen.*, 151-64. For Sir Ifor Williams's view see CA lviii, and for a brief discussion of Cynon as an Arthurian character see A. O. H. Jarman, 'The Arthurian Allusions in the Black Book of Carmarthen', in *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*, ed. by P. B. Grout, R. A. Lodge, C. E. Pickford and E. K. C. Varty (D. S. Brewer, 1983), 102. Cynon is mentioned seven times in the Black Book of Carmarthen, see *idem*, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Caerdydd, 1982), 171; *the Stanzas of the Graves* will be found on pp. 36-44.

Heroic Society and the Heroic Ideal

For the heroic view of life, as mirrored in *Y Gododdin*, see in particular T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Authenticity of the *Gododdin:* an Historian's view', *Ast. Hen.*, 44-71; A. O. H. Jarman, 'The Heroic Ideal in Early Welsh Poetry', *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie, Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. by Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck, 1967), 193-211); *idem*, 'Y Delfryd Arwrol yn yr Hen Ganu', *Llên Cymru*, viii, 125-49 (Welsh version of preceding); *idem*, 'The Heroic View of Life in Early Welsh Verse', *The Celtic Consciousness*, ed. by Robert O'Driscoll (The Dolmen Press, 1982), 161-8. For the heroic ideal in a wider perspective cf. Nicolas Jacobs, 'Y Traddodiad Arwrol Hen Saesneg, o'i Gymharu â'r Dystiolaeth Gymraeg', Chapter VII in *Ast. Hen.*, 165-78; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (Penguin Books, revised ed., 1967); Jan de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (London, 1963), and for heroic panegyric in the ancient Celtic world see J. J. Tierney, 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 60, Section C, No. 5 (Dublin 1969), 189-275; J. E. Caerwyn

Williams, 'Posidonius's Celtic Parasites', *St. Celt.*, xiv/xv, 313-43. The Irish heroic age is studied by K. H. Jackson in *The Oldest Irish Tradition, a Window on the Iron Age* (Cambridge, 1964).

For the couplet by Fortunatus and the use of figurative language in *Y Gododdin* see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Gildas and Vernacular Poetry', Chapter X in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and David Dumville (The Boydell Press, 1984), 169-92, and in particular pp. 181-7. For Fortunatus's reference to 'British songs' see ibid., 179; *Llên Cymru*, vi, 171; Hermann Moisl, 'A Sixth-century Reference to the British *bardd*', BBCS xxix, 268-73.

Literary Characteristics

The *puer senex* topos is documented in Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), 98-101, where it is described as 'a coinage of late pagan Antiquity'. The quotations from Sims-Williams are from the article cited above, p. 183. For D. Simon Evans's discussion of the religious references see his article 'Aneirin — Bardd Cristnogol?' in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol X*, ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dinbych, 1977), 35-44. The concept of a heavenly reward for the fallen warrior is discussed by F. N. Robinson in *Speculum*, xxvii, 395-6; cf. also A. O. H. Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (2nd. ed., Caerdydd, 1967), ix-xi. The text of the elegy for Owain ab Urien, ascribed to Taliesin, will be found in Ifor Williams, *The Poems of Taliesin*, English Version by J. E. Caerwyn Williams, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1975), 12; for an English translation see GWL, vol. 1, 62.

The Interpolations

R. L. Thomson discusses the lullaby 'Dinogad's Smock' in 'Agwedd ac Amser yn y Cynfeirdd', Chapter VIII in *Ast. Hen.*, 179-207, see p. 207. On the question of 'incremental repetition' see the article by K. H. Jackson, 'Incremental Repetition in the Early Welsh *Englyn*', *Speculum*, xvi, 304-21.

The *Gorchanau*

For *Englynion y Misoedd* and other late poems ascribed to Aneirin see M. E. Owen, op. cit., in *Ast. Hen.*, 140-50.

The views of Kathryn Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve Sweetser concerning the *Gorchanau*, etc., will be found in their article, 'Welsh Poetics in the Indo-European Tradition', *St. Celt.*, xviii/xix, 30-51.

Authenticity, Date and Transmission

Sir John Morris-Jones's case for the authenticity of some of the early verse attributed to Taliesin is argued in his 'Taliesin', *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii, 1-290. For numerous references to Aneirin and *Y Gododdin* see the Index. Sir Ifor Williams summarizes his views on the date of *Y Gododdin* in CA xc-xciii. Later discussions of the subject will be found in P. Mac Cana, op. cit.; David Greene, 'Linguistic Considerations in the Dating of Early Welsh Verse', *St. Celt.*, vi, 1-11; Kenneth Jackson, 'Some Questions in Dispute about Early Welsh Literature', ibid., viii/ix, 1-32. On the related question of the date, or period, of the emergence of Welsh from the parent British see Ifor Williams, 'When Did British Become Welsh?', chapter I in BWP 1-15; K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953); John T. Koch, 'The Loss of Final Syllables and Loss of Declension in Brittonic', BBCS xxx, 201-33.

Metrical Features

The discussion of this subject, referred to in the text, by Professor D. Ellis Evans is 'Rhagarweiniad i Astudiaeth o Fydryddiaeth Y *Gododdin'*, Chapter IV in *Ast. Hen.*, 89-122. For a full historical and descriptive treatment of the Welsh metrical system see J. Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod* (Oxford, 1925). Excellent descriptive summaries of the essentials of the system are given by Eurys I. Rowlands in *Poems of the Cywyddwyr* (Dublin, 1976), xx-xlix, and in 'Cynghanedd, Metre, Prosody', Chapter IX in GWL, vol. 2 (Swansea, 1979), 202-17. Cf. also R. M. Jones, 'Mesurau Cerdd Dafod', BBCS xxvii, 533-51. The views of Kathryn Klar, Brendan O Hehir and Eve Sweetser will be found in their article, already cited, in *St. Celt.*, xviii/xix, 30-51. For the suggestion by Saunders Lewis that *Y Gododdin* contains at least some derivative and imitative material produced in 'bardic schools' see his *Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg: I* (Caerdydd, 1932), 7-8. In her article 'Some Aspects of *Proest* in Early Welsh Poetry', BBCS xxx, 234-8, Jenny Rowland refers briefly to certain *proest* 'rhymes' in the poem.

The Fame of *Y Gododdin*

For the references in *Anrheg Urien* and *Angar Cyfyndawd* and in the poem by Dafydd Benfras see CA lxxxv-lxxxvii. T. Gwynn Jones treats both *Y Gododdin* and *Hirlas Owain* in 'Catraeth, and Hirlas Owain, a Study with Critical Texts, Translation and Notes', *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxii, 1-57. The text of *Hirlas Owain* may be read in *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. by Thomas Parry (Oxford, 1962), 30-3. For the singing or recitation of the *Chanson de Roland*, reportedly by Taillefer, before the Battle of Hastings see Jan de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, translated by B. J. Timmer (London, 1963), 167 and 252. The reference to the singing of *Unbeiniaeth Prydain* before going to battle will be found in Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, *Llyfr Blegywryd* (Caerdydd, 1942), 175; Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda* (The Welsh Classics, vol. 2, Gomer, Llandysul, 1986), 227.

For the reference to Mynyddog in the Triads see R. Bromwich, TYP 65, and for Gwlgod and Cynon *The Mabinogion*, translated by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (Everyman, 1949), 115 and 154-63.

Evan Evans's *Specimens* was 'Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall' in 1764, and reprinted (no date) in the 1860's at Llanidloes. The stanzas from *Y Gododdin* are on pp. 69-76 of the original edition, and for Evans's opinion see p. 105. The comments of Lewis Morris and Thomas Percy will be found in *The Percy Letters*, ed. by Aneirin Lewis (Louisiana State University Press, 1957), 18-19. For further comments by Evans, written in 1761, cf. ibid., 159: 'I must own I do not absolutely understand above 3 parts in four of the Works of Aneirin Gwawdrydd, who wrote an Epic poem about the year 570. As far as I understand it, it is a noble and grand piece'.

For Anwyl's translation and discussion of the poem see 'The Book of Aneirin', *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Session 1909-10* (1911), 95-136. T. Gwynn Jones's text and translation, etc., are referred to above. The Modern Welsh translation by Gwyn

Thomas is in *Yr Aelwyd Hon*, ed. by Gwyn Thomas (Llandybïe, 1970), 44-71.

H. M. Chadwick's views are quoted from the section entitled 'The Heroic Poetry of the Celtic Peoples', pp. 105-9 in his volume *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912; reprinted 1967). See also *The Growth of Literature*, vol. I, by H. M. and N. K. Chadwick (1932; reprinted 1968), and the 'General Survey' in vol. III (1940; reprinted 1968), 697-903.

For the references to *Y Gododdin* in David Jones's *In Parenthesis* see René Hague, *David Jones* (Writers of Wales, Cardiff, 1975), 38-9.

A translation of almost the whole of *Y Gododdin* was included by J. P. Clancy in *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 33-64. Translations of ten stanzas are given by K. H. Jackson in *A Celtic Miscellany* (London, 1951), 273-5, of eleven by Gwyn Williams in *Welsh Poetry: Sixth Century to 1600* (London, 1973), 17-19, and also of ten by Anthony Conran in *The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse* (1967), 75-8. A strongly poetic version of the poem by Desmond O'Grady, *The Gododdin*, with illustrations by Louis le Brocquy, was published by the Dolmen Press, Dublin, in 1977, and a fictional account of the expedition of Mynyddog's war-band, *Men Went to Catraeth*, by John James, was published by Cassell and Co in 1969 (Tandem edition, 1972).

Translations into French of some sixteen stanzas were published by Léon Fleuriot in *Récits et Poèmes Celtiques, Domaine Brittonique VI^e-XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1981), 37-41, and of a lesser number by Jean Markale in *L'Epopée Celtique en Bretagne* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1975), 79-80.

Language

In 'Cystrawennau Canu Aneirin', BBCS xiii, 185-8, Henry Lewis dealt briefly with the leading syntactical features of the language of *Y Gododdin*. D. Simon Evans in 'Iaith y *Gododdin*', Chapter III in *Ast. Hen.*, 72-88, deals principally with questions of orthography and morphology. He also refers to certain syntactical problems, and discusses the evidence of the language of the poem for purposes of dating.

OTHER WORKS

Other works referred to or cited in this volume (and not included in the abbreviated titles below) are as follows:

Bowra, C.M.	*Heroic Poetry* (London, 1964).
Clark, Basil	*Life of Merlin* (Cardiff, 1973).
Corkery, Daniel	*The Hidden Ireland, A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin and Melbourne, 1967).
Davies, Wendy	*Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester University Press, 1982).
Ernault, Emile	*Glossaire Moyen-Breton* (Paris, 1896).
Fleuriot, Léon	*Dictionnaire des Gloses en Vieux Breton* (Paris, 1964).
Ford, Patrick K.	*The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales* (University of California Press, 1977).
idem	*The Poetry of Llywarch Hen* (University of California Press, 1974).
Griffiths, Margaret Enid	*Early Vaticination in Welsh with English Parallels* (Cardiff, 1937).
Jones, Owen, Edward Williams and William Owen	*The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (London, 1801).
Lacy, Norris J.	*The Arthurian Encyclopaedia* (New York and London, 1986).
Menzies, Gordon (ed.)	*Who Are the Scots?* (British Broadcasting Corporation, 1976).
Price, Thomas	*The Literary Remains of Thomas Price ... Carnhuanawc* (Llandovery, 1855).
Probert, William	*The Gododin, and the Odes of the Months, translated from the Welsh* (London, 1820).
Skene, William F.	*The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868).
Stephens, Meic (ed.)	*The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford and New York, 1986).

Stephens, Thomas	*The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd: an English translation, with copious explanatory notes; A life of Aneurin* ... ed. by Thomas Powel (London, Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1888).
Turner, Sharon	*A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Antient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, with Specimens of the Poems* (London, 1803).
Varty, Kenneth (ed.)	*An Arthurian Tapestry, essays in memory of Lewis Thorpe* (French Department of the University of Glasgow, 1981).

Note: In 1989 the South Glamorgan County Council and the National Library of Wales jointly published *Llyfr Aneirin: A Facsimile*, edited with an introduction by Daniel Huws, and also containing a reproduction of the text as transcribed by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. In the introduction, which is bilingual, Mr Huws describes and analyses the manuscript in great detail and supports the view that it is the work of two scribes, A and B, writing in the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1988 the National Library also published *Early Welsh Poetry, Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, edited by Brynley F. Roberts, which contains chapters by eight scholars on various aspects of *Y Gododdin* and other early Welsh poems.

A German translation by Martin Rockel of *Y Gododdin* and its *Gorchanau*, as well as of twelve Taliesin poems, *Taliesin, Aneirin: Altwalisische Heldendichtung*, was published by Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig in 1989. The volume contains facing Welsh texts and some forty pages of discussion.

ABBREVIATIONS

AP	*Armes Prydein o Lyfr Taliesin*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1955).
Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis* (London, etc, 1846—).
Ast. Hen.	*Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd/Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Caerdydd, 1978).
Bardos	*Bardos, Penodau ar y Traddodiad Barddol Cymreig a Cheltaidd*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Caerdydd, 1982).
BBCS	*The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (Cardiff, 1921—).
Breuddwyd Maxen	*Breuddwyd Maxen*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Bangor, 2nd. ed., 1920).
Br. Ron.	*Breudwyt Ronabwy*, ed. by Melville Richards (Caerdydd, 1948; 1972).
Brut Dingestow	*Brut Dingestow*, ed. by Henry Lewis (Caerdydd 1942).
BT	*Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910).
BWP	*The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry, Studies by Sir Ifor Williams*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1972).
CA	*Canu Aneirin*, ed. by Ifor Williams Caerdydd, 1938; 1970).
Celt and Saxon	*Celt and Saxon, Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. by Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1964).
Celtica	*Celtica* (Dublin, 1946—).
CD	*Cerdd Dafod, sef Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Gymraeg*, J. Morris-Jones (Rhydychen, 1925; Caerdydd, 1980).
CLIH	*Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1935; 1970).
CMCS	*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* (Cambridge 1981—).

COD	*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford, 6th. impr., 1978).
CPNS	*The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, W. J. Watson (Edinburgh, 1926).
CT	*Canu Taliesin*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1970).
Dict. Duplex	*Antiquae Linguae Britannicae . . . et Linguae Latinae, Dictionarium Duplex*, John Davies (Lordini, 1632).
EEW	*The English Element in Welsh*, T. H. Parry-Williams (London, 1923).
ELIG	*Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg*, H. Lewis (Caerdydd, 1943).
Et. Celt.	*Etudes Celtiques* (Paris, 1936—).
EWGP	*Early Welsh Gnomic Poems*, ed. by K. H. Jackson (Cardiff, 1935; 1973).
EWGT	*Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. by P. C. Bartrum (Cardiff, 1966).
EWP	*The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, J. P. Clancy (London, 1970).
G	*Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, J. Lloyd-Jones (Caerdydd, 1931-63).
GDG	*Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. by T. Parry (Caerdydd, 1952; 1963).
GMW	*A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, D. Simon Evans (Dublin, 1964).
God.	*The Gododdin, The Earliest Scottish Poem*, K. H. Jackson (Edinburgh, 1969; 1978).
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950—).
GPN	*Gaulish Personal Names*, D. Ellis Evans (Oxford, 1967).
Gwas. Meir	*Gwasanaeth Meir*, ed. by Brynley F. Roberts (Caerdydd, 1961).
GWL	*A Guide to Welsh Literature*, ed. by A. O. H. Jarman and Gwilym Rees Hughes (vol. 1, Swansea, 1976; vol. 2, 1979).

HGCr	*Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, ed. by Henry Lewis (Caerdydd, 1931).
HW	*A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, J. E. Lloyd (London, 1911; 1948).
Lang. & Hist.	*Language and History in Early Britain*, K. H. Jackson (Edinburgh, 1953).
LEWP	*Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, Ifor Williams (Dublin, 1944; 1970).
Lew.-Ped.	*A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, H. Lewis and H. Pedersen (Göttingen, 1937).
LL	*The Text of the Book of Llandâv*, ed. by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1893).
LIC	*Llên Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950—).
LIDC	*Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, ed. by A. O. H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1982).
LIH	*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. by J. Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd, 1933).
Nennius	*Nennius, British History and The Welsh Annals*, ed. and translated by John Morris (London and Chichester, 1980).
OBWV	*The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. by T. Parry (Oxford, 1962; 1976).
PBA	*The Proceedings of the British Academy* (London, 1903—).
PKM	*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1930; 1977).
Pokorny Festschrift	*Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie, Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. by Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck, 1967).
Pughe's Dictionary	*A Welsh and English Dictionary*, by W. Owen [-Pughe] (London, 1793/1803).
RBES	*Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres (2nd. ed., Oxford, 1937).

RC	*Revue Celtique* (1870-1933).
RM	*The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest*, J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans (Oxford, 1887).
RP	*The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*, J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1911).
St. Celt.	*Studia Celtica* (Cardiff, 1966—).
Text	*The Text of the Book of Aneirin*, reproduced and edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Pwllheli, 1908).
The Mab.	*The Mabinogion*, Translated by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (Everyman, 1949).
TYP	*Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1961; 1978).
WG	*A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative*, J. Morris Jones (Oxford, 1913).
WM	*The White Book Mabinogion*, J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Pwllheli, 1907).
Y Bywgraffiadur	*Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig Hyd 1940* (Llundain, 1953).
YCM	*Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, ed. by S. J. Williams (Caerdydd, 1930; 1968).
Y Cymmr.	*Y Cymmrodor* (Llundain, 1877—).
YMTh	*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, ed. by A. O. H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1951; 1967).
Ysg. Beirn.	*Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, ed. by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dinbych, vol. V, 1970; vol. X, 1977; vol. XIII, 1985).
Y Treigl.	*Y Treigladau a'u Cystrawen*, T. J. Morgan (Caerdydd, 1951).

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, -ial
affirm.	affirmative
art.	article
c.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	*confer*
coll.	collective
comp.	comparative
conj.	conjunction
consuetud.	consuetudinal
ct.	contrast
def.	definite
dim.	diminutive
ed.	edited; edition
e.g.	*exempli gratia*
equ.	equative
etc.	*et cetera*
fem.	feminine
fl. c.	*floruit circa*
fut.	future
ibid.	*ibidem*
i.e.	*id est*
imper.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
impers.	impersonal
impr.	impression
ind.	indicative
inf.	infixed
int.	interjection
interrog.	interrogative
introd.	introductory
Ir.	Irish
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literal, -ly
loc. cit.	*loco citato*
Med.	Medieval
Mod.	Modern
Ms.	Manuscript
n.	noun
neg.	negative
num.	numeral
ob.	*obit*
obj.	objective
op. cit.	*opere citato*
p.	page
part.	particle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pers.	person, -al
pluperf.	pluperfect
plur.	plural
poss.	possessive
pp.	pages
pred.	predicative
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
prev.	pre-verbal
pron.	pronoun
rel.	relative
sing.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
superl.	superlative
s.v.	*sub verbo*
v.	verb
vl.	verbal
v.n.	verb-noun
vol.	volume

* conjectural form

{*Y Gododdin*} wears the aspect of a genuine relic of a long-forgotten strife, a massive boulder left high on its rocky perch by an icy stream which has long since melted away.

Sir J. E. Lloyd

Y GODODDIN

1 *(The Reciter's Prologue)*

Gododdin, I make claim on thy behalf
In the presence of the throng boldly in the court:
And the song of the son of Dwywai, of high courage,
May it be manifest in the one place that it vanquishes.
He was not weak or base before the well-fed fire,
The pine logs blazing from dusk to dawn,
The doorway lit up for the purple-clad traveller.
Since the gentle one, the wall of battle, was slain,
Since earth covered Aneirin,
Poetry is now parted from the Gododdin.

2

In might a man, a youth in years,
Of boisterous valour;
Swift long-maned steeds
Under the thigh of a handsome youth;
A light broad shield
On a slender fleet horse's crupper;
Bright blue swords,
Fringes of worked gold.
There shall not be
Enmity between me and thee:
Better shall I do for thee
To praise thee in song.
Quicker to the field of blood
Than to a wedding,
Quicker to the ravens' feast
Than to a burial,
A beloved friend was Ywain,
It is wrong that he is beneath a cairn.
It is a sad wonder for me in what land
Marro's only son was slain.

3

Wearing a brooch, in the forefront wherever he went,
Breathless before a maiden, he earned his mead;

1 *(Rhagair yr Adroddwr)* LV A & B

Gododdin, gofynnaf o'th blegyd
Yng ngŵydd cant yn arial yn emwyd:
A gwarchan mab Dwywai, dda wryd,
Poed gno yn un tyno treisyd.
Nid oedd wan wael rhag tân feithin,
O lychwr i lychwr lluch bîn,
Lluch ddôr i borffor bererin.
Er pan waned maws, mur trin,
Er pan aeth daear ar Aneirin,
Nw neud ysgarad nâd â Gododdin.

2 I A

Greddf gŵr, oed gwas,
Gwryd amddias;
Meirch mwth myngfras
O dan forddwyd mygrwas;
Ysgwyd ysgafn lydan
Ar bedrain main fuan;
Cleddyfawr glas glân,
Eddi aur affan.
Ni bi ef a fi
Cas y rhof a thi:
Gwell gwneif â thi
Ar wawd dy foli.
Cynt i waedlawr
Nogyd i neithiawr,
Cynt i fwyd brain
Nog i argyfrain,
Cu gyfaill Ywain,
Cŵl ei fod o dan fain.
Marth im pa fro
Lladd un mab Marro.

3 II A

Caeog, cynhorog men ydd elai,
Diffun ymlaen bun, medd a dalai;

Shattered was the front of his shield when he heard the
battle-cry,
He gave no quarter to as many as he pursued.
He did not retreat from battle until blood flowed,
Like rushes he cut down men who did not flee.
The men of Gododdin relate on the floor of the hall
That before Madog's tent when he returned
There would come but one man from a hundred.

4

Wearing a brooch, a warrior, ensnarer of the enemy,
The swoop of an eagle in the estuaries when fed.
His agreement was a pledge that was kept,
Better did he fulfil his purpose, which was not set aside.
Before the army of Gododdin there was flight,
Hard pressure facing the land of Manawyd,
Neither appearance nor shield gave protection.
No one, unless he were well nurtured,
Could guard against the blow of Cadfannan.

5

Wearing a brooch, in the forefront, a wolf in fury,
The generous torqued warrior gained amber beads.
Of great worth was Gwefrfawr in return for wine from the
cup,
He repelled the attack with blood down his cheek.
Though the men of Gwynedd and the northern part came,
Through the planning of the son of Ysgyrran
There would be shattered shields.

6

Wearing a brooch, in the forefront, armed in the fight,
Before his death a mighty warrior in combat,
A princely leader charging before armies,
Five fifties fell before his blades.
Of the men of Deira and Bernicia there fell
A hundred score into oblivion in one hour.

Twll tâl ei rodawr yn y clywai awr,
Ni roddai nawdd maint dilynai.
Ni chiliai o gamawn oni ferai waed,
Mal brwyn gomynai gwŷr ni dechai.
Neus adrawdd Gododdin ar llawr mordai,
Rhag pebyll Madog pan atgoriai
Namyn un gŵr o gant ni ddelai.

4 III A

Caeog, cynifiad, cywlad rwyd,
Rhuthr eryr yn ebyr pan llithiwyd.
Ei amod a fu nod a gadwyd,
Gwell gwnaeth ei arfaeth, ni giliwyd.
Rhag byddin Ododdin odechwyd,
Hydr gymell ar freithell Fanawyd,
Ni noddi nac ysgedd nac ysgwyd.
Ni ellid, onid ryfaethpwyd,
Rhag ergyd Cadfannan cadwyd.

5 IV A

Caeog, cynhorog, blaidd ym maran,
Gwefrawr goddiwawdd torchawr am ran.
Bu Gwefrfawr gwerthfawr gwerth gwin o fan,
Ef gwrthodes gwrŷs, gwyar odd is gran,
Cyd dyffai Wynedd a Gogledd ran,
O gusyl mab Ysgyrran
Ysgwydawr anghyfan.

6 V A

Caeog, cynhorog, arfog yng ngawr,
Cyn no'i ddiwedd gŵr gwrdd yng ngwriawr,
Cynran yn rhagwan rhag byddinawr,
Cwyddai pum pymwnt rhag ei lafnawr.
O wŷr Deifr a Brynaich dychïawr
Ugain cant yn nifant yn un awr.

Quicker to a wolf-feast than to a nuptial,
Quicker to the raven's gain than to the altar,
Before his burial his blood flowed down.
In return for mead in the hall with the hosts
Hyfaidd Hir will be praised while there is a minstrel.

7

Warriors went to Gododdin, laughter-provoking,
Harsh in battle, with spears in array,
For a short year in peace they are calm.
The son of Bodgad, the deeds of his hand wrought vengeance.
Though they went to churches to do penance,
Old and young, powerful and lowly,
The certain meeting with death came to them.

8

Warriors went to Gododdin, with eager laughter,
Attackers in a host, savage in battle,
They slew with blades without much noise.
Rheithfyw, pillar of battle, delighted in giving.

9

Warriors went to Catraeth, their host was swift,
Fresh mead was their feast and it was bitter,
Three hundred fighting under command,
And after the cry of jubilation there was silence.
Though they went to churches to do penance,
The certain meeting with death came to them.

10

Warriors went to Catraeth, a mead-nourished host,
Sturdy and vigorous, it would be wrong if I did not praise them.
Along with blood-red blades in great dark-blue sockets,
In close ranks, grimly, the war-hounds fought.

Cynt i gig blaidd nogyd i neithiawr,
Cynt i fudd brân nogyd i allawr,
Cyn no'i argyfrain ei waed i lawr.
Gwerth medd yng nghyntedd gan lliwedawr
Hyfaidd Hir edmygir tra fo cerddawr.

7 VI A

Gwŷr a aeth Ododdin, chwerthin ognaw,
Chwerw yn nhrin, â lläin yn ymddulliaw,
Byr flynedd yn hedd ydd ŷnt yn daw.
Mab Bodgad, gwnaeth gwyniaith gwraith ei law.
Cyd elwynt lannau i benydiaw,
A hen a ieuainc a hydr a llaw,
Dadl ddiau angau i eu treiddaw.

8 VII A

Gwŷr a aeth Ododdin, chwerthin wanar,
Disgyniaid ym myddin, trin ddiachar,
Wy lleddynt â llafnawr heb fawr drydar.
Colofn glyw, Rheithfyw rhoddi arwar.

9 VIII A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, oedd ffraeth eu llu,
Glasfedd eu hancwyn a gwenwyn fu,
Trychant trwy beiriant yn catáu,
A gwedi elwch tawelwch fu.
Cyd elwynt lannau i benydu,
Dadl ddiau angau i eu treiddu.

10 IX A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, feddfaeth feddwn,
Ffyrf, ffrwythlon, oedd cam nas cymhwyllwn.
I am lafnawr coch, gorfawr gwrmwn,
Dwys, dengyn, ydd ymleddyn aergwn.

Of the host of Bernicia—I should have considered it a burden—
No one in the shape of a man would I have spared.
A friend have I lost—I was faithful—
Swift in combat, it was hard for me to leave him.
The hero desired no father-in-law's dowry,
The young son of Cian from Maen Gwyngwn.

11

Warriors went to Catraeth with the dawn,
Their fears departed from their dwelling-place,
A hundred thousand and three hundred charged against each other.
He stains spears with blood,
The most valiant resister in battle,
Before the retinue of Mynyddog Mwynfawr.

12

Warriors went to Catraeth with the dawn,
Their ardours shortened their lives,
They drank mead, yellow, sweet, ensnaring,
For a year many a minstrel was joyful.
Blood-stained were their swords, may their spears not be cleansed;
White were the shields and square-pointed the spearheads
Before the retinue of Mynyddog Mwynfawr.

13

A warrior went to Catraeth with the day,
He made shame of armies.
They made biers inevitable
With blades full of cruelty in the world.
He made, sooner than speak of peace,
A blood-bath and death for his adversary.
When he stood before the army of the Gododdin
Splendid Neirthiad fulfilled a brave intent.

Ar deulu Brynaich, baich barnaswn,
Eiliw dyn yn fyw nis adawswn.
Cyfaill a gollais, difflais oeddwn,
Rhugl yn ymwrthryn, rhyn ryadwn.
Ni mynnws gwrol gwaddol chwegrwn,
Maban i Gian o Faen Gwyngwn.

11 X A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr
Trafodynt eu hedd eu hofnawr,
Milcant a thrychant a ymdaflawdd.
Gwyarllyd gwynoddyd waywawr,
Ef gorsaf wriaf yng ngwriawr,
Rhag gosgordd Mynyddog Mwynfawr.

12 XI A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr,
Dygymyrrws eu hoed eu hanianawr,
Medd yfynt melyn melys maglawr,
Blwyddyn bu llewyn llawer cerddawr.
Coch eu cleddyfawr, na phurawr
Eu lläin; gwyn calch a phedryollt pennawr
Rhag gosgordd Mynyddog Mwynfawr.

13 XII A

Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan ddydd,
Neus goreu o gadau gywilydd.
Wy gwnaethant yn geugant gelorwydd
Â llafnawr llawn annawdd ym medydd.
Goreu hwn cyn cystlwn cerennydd
Ennaint crau ac angau o'i hennydd.
Rhag byddin Ododdin pan fuddydd
Neus goreu dewr bwylliad Neirthiad gwychydd.

14

A warrior went to Catraeth with the day,
Greedily he drank mead at night-time;
Woeful, an army's lament,
Was his attack, the fiery slayer.
There rushed to Catraeth
No great one so generous
Of intent over his mead;
There was none who so completely
From the fortress of Eidyn
Scattered the enemy.
Tudfwlch Hir from his land and homesteads
Drove out the Saxons without ceasing.
His valour will long endure
And his memory among his fair company.
When Tudfwlch, strengthener of his people, son of Cilydd, attacked,
The place of spears was a field of blood.

15

A warrior went to Catraeth with the dawn,
On his land a stronghold of shields.
Harshly they attacked, they collected booty,
Loud like thunder was the sound of the shields.
A proud man, a wise man, a champion,
He tore and cut with spearpoints.
Above the bloodshed he struck with blades,
In the strife of harsh weaponry, on heads.
In the court the slayer humbled himself,
Before Erthgi armies groaned.

16

Of the land of Catraeth it is related
That hosts fell, long was the grief for them.
In hardship, in ease, they fought for their land
With the sons of Godebog, an evil people.
Long biers bore away blood-stained men.

14 XIII A

Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan ddydd,
Neu llewes ef feddgwyn feinoethydd;
Bu truan, gyfatgan gyfluydd,
Ei neges, ordrachwres drenghidydd.
Ni chrysiws Gatraeth
Mawr mor ehelaeth
Ei arfaeth odd uch medd;
Ni bu mor gyfor
O Eidyn ysgor
A ysgarai oswydd.
Tudfwlch Hir ech ei dir a'i drefydd
Ef lladdai Saeson seithfed dydd.
Perheyd ei wryd yn wrfydd
A'i gofain gan ei gain gyweithydd.
Pan ddyfu Dudfwlch, dud nerthydd,
Oedd gwaedlan gwyalfan, fab Cilydd.

15 XIV A

Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr,
Yn ei fuddyn ysgorfa ysgwydawr.
Crai cyrchynt, cynullynt reïawr,
Yn gynnan mal taran twrf aesawr.
Gŵr gorfynt, gŵr edfynt, gŵr llawr,
Ef rhwygai a chethrai â chethrawr,
Odd uch lledd lladdai â llafnawr,
Yng nghystudd heyrn dur, ar bennawr.
Ym mordai ystyngai adleddawr,
Rhag Erthgi erthychi fyddinawr.

16 XV A

O freithell Gatraeth pan adroddir,
Maon dychiorant, eu hoed bu hir.
Edyrn diedyrn amygyn dir
Â meibion Godebog, gwerin enwir.
Dyfforthynt lynwysawr gelorawr hir.

It was a wretched fate, an inexorable destiny,
That was ordained for Tudfwlch and Cyfwlch Hir.
Though we drank clear mead by lighted candles,
Though its taste was good, its bitterness lasted long.

17

Blaen from the splendid fort of Eidyn inspired
The faithful warriors who followed him.
Blaen on his feather cushion dispensed
The drinking-horn in his opulent court.
Blaen, drink of bragget came to him;
Blaen delighted in gold and purple clothing;
Blaen, well-fed horses ran under him
At the sound of battle: his high intent merited them.
Blaen raised the battle-cry, gainful was his return,
A bear in manner, ever reluctant to retreat.

18

A power in the front rank,
Sunlight on grass.
Where can be found the lord
Of the heaven of the Island of Britain?
There was violence at the ford before the warrior
With his shield as a stronghold.
His drinking-horn was handsome
In the hall of Eidyn.
His grandeur was displayed,
His mead was intoxicating,
He drank strong wine.
He was a reaper in battle,
He drank sweet wine.
Of daring purpose in war,
A reaper of battle-leeks.
Bright arm of battle,
They sang a song of war.
Armed in battle,
Winged in battle,
His shield was not solid
Through the spears of war.

Bu tru o dynghedfen, angen gywir,
A dyngwyd i Dudfwlch a Chyfwlch Hir.
Cyd yfem fedd gloyw wrth leu babir,
Cyd fai da ei flas, ei gas bu hir.

17 XVI A

Blaen ech Eidyn gaer glaer ewygai
Gwŷr gweirydd gwanar a'i dilynai.
Blaen ar ei bluddwe dywallofai
Fual yn ei fwynfawr fordai.
Blaen, gwirod fragod a'i dybyddai,
Blaen, aur a phorffor cainasmygai,
Blaen, eddystrawr pasg a'i gwaredai
Wrth lef agerw, bryd a'u derllyddai.
Blaen arwyre gawr, buddfawr drai,
Arth yn llwrw, byth hwyr y techai.

18 XVII A

Anawr gynhorfan,
Huan ar wyran.
Gwledig cwdd gyngain
Nef Ynys Brydain?
Garw rhyd rhag rhyn,
Aes i lwrw buddyn.
Bual oedd arwyn
Yng nghyntedd Eidyn.
Ei riydd rhyodres,
Ei fedd meddwawd,
Yfai win wirawd.
Oedd erfid fedel,
Yfai win gofel.
Aerfaidd yn arfedd,
Aer gennin fedel.
Aer adan glaer,
Cenyn gywydd aer.
Aer seirchiog,
Aer edenog,
Nid oedd dirf ei ysgwyd
Gan waywawr plymnwyd.

Companions fell
In the conflict of battle.
His cry was vigorous,
Without fail he avenged them.
His fury was appeased
Before the green earth covered
The grave of mighty Gwrwelling.

19

They honour right,
They stain three javelins,
Fifty, five hundred.
Three hounds and three hundred,
Three battle-horsemen
From Eidyn of the goldsmiths,
Three mail-clad hosts,
Three gold-torqued kings,
Three fierce horsemen,
Three battle-peers,
Three leaping together, coequal,
Harshly they routed the enemy.
Three in battle, heavily engaged,
Easily they slew the foe,
Gold in a well-ordered army,
Three kings of the hosts,
Who sprang of the Brython,
Cynri and Cynon,
Cynrain of Aeron.
The tribes of the crafty Deirans
Were wont to ask
Did there come from the Brython
A better man than Cynon,
A serpent on the enemies' path?

20

I drank wine and mead in the hall.
His spears were many
In the clash of armed men,
He made food for eagles.

Cwyddyn gyfoedion
Yng nghad blymnwyd.
Diesig ei ddias,
Difefl as talas.
Huddid ei wyllias
Cyn bu clawr glas
Bedd Gwrwelling fras.

19 XVIII A

Teithi edmygant,
Tri llwry nofant,
Pymwnt a phymcant.
Trychwn a thrychant,
Tri chadfarchog
Eidyn euruchog,
Tri llu llurugog,
Tri aur deyrn dorchog,
Tri marchog dywal,
Tri chadgyhafal,
Tri chyfnaid cyfnar
Chwerw ffysgynt esgar.
Tri yn nhrin yn drwm,
Llew lleddynt blwm,
Aur yng nghad gyngrwn,
Tri theyrn maon,
A ddyfu o Frython,
Cynri a Chynon,
Cynrain o Aeron.
Gogyferchi ynnon,
Deifr diferogion,
A ddyfu o Frython
Ŵr well no Chynon,
Sarff seri alon?

20 XIX A

Yfais i win a medd ym mordai.
Mawr maint ei fehyr
Yng nghyfarfod gwŷr,
Bwyd i eryr erysmygai.

When Cydywal rushed to the attack a battle-cry rose
With the green dawn wherever he came,
He left shields splintered and shattered.
Threatening spears the tearer
Cut down in battle,
He broke the vanguard of an army.
The son of Sywno—the soothsayer knew it—
Sold his life
For the mention of honour.
With sharpened blade he struck,
He slew both Athrwys and Affrai.
In fulfilment of his pledge he planned attack,
He brought about the slaughter
Of brave warriors,
In the forefront of the men of Gwynedd he charged.

21

Thou didst drink wine and mead in the hall:
Since thou drankst, thou didst attack in the border region, a woeful fate,
Most destructive was the valiant heart,
When everyone fled thou didst attack.
If the blood of all the dead whom thou didst kill were wine
Thou wouldst have sufficient for three or four years:
Vastly wouldst thou diminish it for thy steward.
Mayest thou attain the abode of heaven because thou didst not flee:
Steadfast Breichiawl was the talk of the world.

22

Warriors went to Catraeth, they were renowned:
Wine and mead from gold vessels was their drink
For a year according to honourable custom,
Three men and three score and three hundred, gold-torqued.
Of those who hastened forth after plentiful drink
Only three escaped through prowess in battle,
The two battle-hounds of Aeron and Cynon returned,
And I from my blood-shedding on account of my fair song.

Pan grysiai Gydywal dwyreai awr
Gan wyrdd wawr cyfi doddai,
Aesawr dellt annibellt adawai.
Parau rhyn rhwygiad
Dygymynai yng nghad,
Blaen bragad briwai.
Mab Sywno, sywiedydd a'i gwyddiai,
A werthws ei enaid
Er wyneb grybwylliaid.
Â llafn llifaid lladdai,
Lleddesid ac Athrwys ac Affrai.
Er amod arfod arfaethai,
Ermygai galanedd
O wŷr gwychyr gŵnedd,
Ym mlaen Gwynedd gwanai.

21 XX A & B

Yfaist ti win a medd ym mordai:
Can yfaist, disgynnaist ran ffin, ffawd ud,
Nid didrachywedd colwedd ddrud,
Pan esgynnai pawb ti ddisgynnud.
Cyfai gwin gwaed meirw maint a wanud
Tair blynedd a phedair meddud:
Yn fawr i'th faer as cymyrrud.
A'th fo di gwas nyf gwerth na thechud:
Present gyfadrawdd oedd Breichiawl glud.

22 XXI A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, buant enwawg:
Gwin a medd o aur fu eu gwirawd
Blwyddyn yn erbyn urddyn ddefawd,
Trywyr a thri ugaint a thrychant eurdorchawg.
O'r sawl yd grysiasant uch gormant wirawd
Ni ddiengis namyn tri o wrhydri ffosawd,
Dau gatgi Aeron a Chynon daerawd,
A minnau o'm gwaetffrau gwerth fy ngwenwawd.

23

My kinsman in his pleasure caused us no anxiety
Except on account of the feast of the harsh ruler.
He was not excluded in the hall from the mead-drink,
He wrought destruction upon destruction with blows,
He was dauntless in battle, dauntless in affliction.
The men of Gododdin do not tell after battle
That there was anyone harsher than Llifiau.

24

When he attacked in the borderland his renown was great,
He merited wine, the gold-torqued warrior.
He gave a bright shining array to the brave,
The princely hero protected a hundred men,
Of noble nature, a foreign horseman,
Cian's only son from beyond Bannog.
The men of Gododdin do not tell on the field of battle
That there was anyone harsher than Llif.

25

Amid scattered weapons, broken ranks, standing steadfast,
With great destruction, the champion overthrew the host
of the men of England,
He cast lances in the forefront of battle in the spearfight,
He laid men low and made women widows before his death,
Graid son of Hoywgi formed a battle-pen against the spears.

26

Hero of the protective shield below his grey forehead
In movement like a horse,
He was a tumult on the battle-slope, he was a fire,
His spears were swift, he was radiant,
He was food for ravens, he was benefit to the crow,
And before he was left at the fords,
At dew-fall, the eagle of graceful movement,
Beside the wave's spray near the hillside,
The poets of the world judged him to be of manly heart.

23 XXII A

Fy nghâr yng ngwirwar ni'n gogyffrawd
Oni bai o gŵyn dragon durawd.
Ni ddidolid yng nghyntedd o fedd gwirawd,
Ef gwnâi ar beithing beithing arfodiawg,
Ef disgrain yng nghad, disgrain yn aelawd.
Nis adrawdd Gododdin gwedi ffosawd
Pan fai no Llifiau llymach nebawd.

24 XXII B

Pan gyrchai yng nghywlad ei glod oedd anfonawg,
Ef dilyddai win, gŵr eurdorchawg.
Ef rhoddai gloyw ddull glân i wychiawg,
Ardwyai can ŵr arwr mynawg,
Anfonawg eisyllud, alltud farchawg,
Un maban i Gian o dra Bannawg.
Nis adrawdd Gododdin ar glawr ffosawd
Pan fai no Llif llymach nebawd.

25 XXIII A & B

Arf anghynnull, anghyman ddull, anghysgoged,
Trachywedd fawr, treiglesyd llawr Lloegrwys giwed,
Heesid ais yng nghynnor trais yng nghad ferau,
Gorug wŷr llyddw a gwragedd gwyddw cyn no'i
angau,
Graid fab Hoywgi rhag ysberi ryberi crau.

26 XXIV A

Arwr ardwy ysgwyd o dan ei dalfrith
Ac ail tith orwyddan,
Bu trydar yn aerfre, bu tân,
Bu ehud ei waewawr, bu huan,
Bu bwyd i frain, bu budd i frân,
A chyn edewid yn rhydon,
Gan wlith, eryr tith tirion,
Ac o du gwasgar gwaneg tu bron,
Beirdd byd barnant ŵr o galon.

His counsels deprived him of his just due,
His chief warriors were destroyed by the enemy,
And before his burial beneath Eleirch Fre—
There was valour in his breast—
His blood washed over his armour,
Buddfan the intrepid son of Bleiddfan.

27

To leave him of the many exploits unremembered would be wrong:
He left no breach through cowardice.
The profit of minstrelsy did not leave his court
Of set purpose on New Year's Day.
His land, though waste, would not be ploughed,
The generous chieftain of most bitter fighting,
A prince in the bloodshed after the wine-feast,
Gwenabwy son of Gwen, in the conflict of Catraeth.

28

It was true as Cadlew spoke,
No one's horses overtook Marchlew.
He cast spears in battle
From a bounding, wide-tracked charger.
Although his rearing was not with burdens, with suffering,
His sword-stroke was fierce in his battle-station.
He threw spears from the grasp of his hand
From his steaming slender bay horse.
The most lovable one distributed his plentiful wine,
He slew with a blade, blood-stained and savage.
As a reaper strikes in unsettled weather
So Marchlew would cause blood to flow.

29

The renowned Isag from the southern part,
Like the flowing sea was his demeanour
For modesty and liberality
And the gracious drinking of mead.

Diebyrth ei gerth ei gyngyr,
Difa oedd ei gynrain gan wŷr,
A chyn ei olo o dan Eleirch Fre —
Ydoedd wryd yn ei arch —
Gorolches ei grau ei seirch,
Buddfan fab Bleiddfan ddihafarch.

27 XXV A

Cam ei adaw heb gof, camp ehelaeth:
Nid adawai adwy er adwriaeth.
Nid edewis ei lys les cerddwriaeth
Ddyw Calan Ionawr yn ei arfaeth.
Nid erddid ei dir cyfai diffaith,
Dra chas anïas ddraig ehelaeth,
Dragon yng ngwyar gwedi gwinfaeth,
Gwenabwy fab Gwen, gynnen Gatraeth.

28 XXVI A & B

Bu gwir mal amceuddai Gadlew,
Ni ddeliis meirch neb Marchlew.
Heesid waywawr yng nglyw
I ar llemenig llwybrdew.
Cyn ni faged am fyrn, am borth,
Dywal ei gleddyfal yn ei orth.
Heesid onn o bedryollt ei law
I ar feiniell fygedorth.
Yd rannai rhygu ei rywin,
Yd laddai â llafn fraith oeithin.
Fal pan fêl medel ar freithin
Y gwnâi Farchlew waedlin.

29 XXVII A

Isag anfonog o barth Dehau,
Tebyg môr lliant ei ddefodau
O wyledd a llariedd
A chain yfed medd.

Where his weapons struck there was no requital,
He never wavered, never faltered.
His sword resounded in the heads of mothers,
Wall of battle, he was praised, the son of Gwyddnau.

30

Ceredig, of lovable fame,
Seized, preserved renown.
A petted favourite, gentle before his day came,
Of excellent courtesy;
May there be for him who loved songs an assignment
In the land of heaven, the home of understanding.

31

Ceredig, lovable chieftain,
A ferocious fighter in battle,
Gold-chased shield of the battlefield,
With spears splintered, shattered,
And a furious powerful sword-stroke,
Like a man kept his position.
Before the grief of burial, before the suffering,
Purposefully he defended his post.
May he be welcomed among the host
With the Trinity in full unity.

32

When Caradog charged into battle
Like a wild boar, slayer of three warriors,
Bull of an army, a hewer in the fighting,
He fed the wolves by his hand:
My witness is Ywain son of Eulad,
And Gwrien and Gwyn and Gwriad.
From Catraeth, from the slaughter,
From Bryn Hyddwn before they were taken,
After bright mead in the hand,
Not one of them saw his father.

Men yd glawdd ei offer ei bwyth maddau,
Ni bu hyll dihyll na heu dihau.
Seiniesyd ei gleddyf ym mhen mamau,
Mur graid, oedd molaid ef mab Gwyddnau.

30 XXVIII A

Ceredig caradwy ei glod,
Achubai, gwarchadwai nod.
Lledfegin, ys tawel cyn dyfod ei ddydd,
Gowychydd ei wybod;
Ys deupo câr cyrdd cyfnod
Yng ngwlad nef, addef adnabod.

31 XXIX A

Ceredig caradwy gynran,
Ceimiad yng nghad gofaran,
Ysgwyd eurgrwydr cadlan,
Gwaewawr uswydd anghyfan,
Cleddyfal dywal diwan,
Mal gŵr cadwai wyalfan.
Cyn cystudd daear, cyn affan,
O ddaffar diffynnai ei fan.
Ys deupo cynnwys yng nghyman
Can Drindod yn undod gyfan.

32 XXX A

Pan grysiai Garadog i gad,
Mal baedd coed, trychwn drychiad,
Tarw byddin, yn nhrin gomyniad,
Ef llithiai wyddgwn o'i angad:
Ys fy nhyst Ywain fab Eulad
A Gwrien a Gwyn a Gwriad.
O Gatraeth, o gymynad,
O Fryn Hyddwn cyn caffad,
Gwedi medd gloyw ar angad
Ni weles yr un ei dad.

33

Warriors charged, leaping forward together,
Short-lived, drunk over the clarified mead,
The retinue of Mynyddog, renowned in battle,
They paid for their mead-feast with their lives:
Caradog and Madog, Pyll and Ieuan,
Gwgon and Gwion, Gwyn and Cynfan,
Peredur of the steel weapons, Gwawrddur and Aeddan,
Attackers in the fight with broken shields.
And though they were slain, they slew;
Not one returned to his homeland.

34

Warriors charged, they were nurtured together
For a year over the mead with noble intent,
How sad to tell of them, the longing is insatiable,
Cruel is their resting-place, no mother's son has cared for them.
How lasting the sorrow and the sadness
After the valiant warriors from the wine-fed land!
Gwlgod of Gododdin, for men of spirit,
Planned the feast of Mynyddog, famous and costly,
To redeem the land of Catraeth.

35

Warriors went to Catraeth, embattled, with a cry,
A host of horsemen in dark-blue armour, with shields,
Spear-shafts held aloft with sharp points,
And shining mail-shirts and swords.
He took the lead, he cut his way through armies,
Five fifties fell before his blades:
Rhufon Hir gave gold to the altar,
And gifts and handsome largesse to the minstrel.

36

Never was built a hall so renowned,
So great, so mighty for slaughter:
Thou didst deserve thy enjoyment, fiery Morien!

33 XXXI A

Gwŷr a grysiasant, buant gydnaid,
Hoedlfyrion, meddwon uch medd hidlaid,
Gosgordd Fynyddog, enwog yn rhaid,
Gwerth eu gwledd o fedd fu eu henaid:
Caradog a Madog, Pyll ac Ieuan,
Gwgon a Gwion, Gwyn a Chynfan,
Peredur Arfau Dur, Gwawrddur ac Aeddan,
Achubiaid yng ngawr, ysgwydawr anghyfan.
A chyd lleseint, wy lladdasan;
Neb i eu tymyr nid atgorsan.

34 XXXII A

Gwŷr a grysiasant, buant gydfaeth,
Blwyddyn odd uch medd, mawr eu harfaeth,
Mor dru eu hadrawdd wy, angawr hiraeth,
Gwenwyn eu hadlam, nid mab mam a'u maeth.
Mor hir eu hedlid ac eu hetgyllaeth,
Yn ôl gwŷr pybyr tymyr gwinfaeth.
Gwlgod Gododdin, yn erbyn ffraeth,
Ancwyn Mynyddog enwog y'i gwnaeth,
A phrid er prynu breithell Gatraeth.

35 XXXIII A

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth yng nghad, yng ngawr,
Nerth meirch a gwrmseirch ac ysgwydawr,
Peleidr ar gychwyn a llym waywawr,
A llurugau claer a chleddyfawr.
Rhagorai, tyllai trwy fyddinawr,
Cwyddai bum pymwnt rhag ei lafnawr:
Rhufon Hir, ef rhoddai aur i allawr,
A ched a choelfain cain i gerddawr.

36 XXXIV A

Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd mor orchynnan,
Mor fawr, mor orfawr i gyflafan:
Dyrllyddud meddud, Morien tân!

Cynon did not declare that he would not make a corpse:
An armoured spearman of far-reaching fame,
His sword resounded above the rampart.
No more than a rock of vast circumference moves
Would Gwid son of Peithan be budged.

37

Never was built a hall so famous.
Except Morien, son of Caradog,
There did not escape in battle, in the manner of a lord,
A warrior more valiant than the son of Fferog.
With mighty hand he set fire to the fleeing horseman,
Undaunted in the strife, he was a refuge for a timorous host.
Before the army of Gododdin his shield was shattered,
Under stress he was steadfast.
On the day of battle he was agile, bitter was his recompense:
Mynyddog's man deserved his mead-horns.

38

Never was built a hall so lively . . .
Than generous-hearted Cynon, lord of graces.
Truly he would sit at the end of the bench,
Whomsoever he struck would not be struck again.
Sharp-pointed were his spears,
With shattered shield he tore through armies,
His horses swift, racing forward.
In the day of battle his blades spelt destruction,
When Cynon charged with the green dawn.

39

Never was built a hall so perfect . . .
So noble, with lion's fury, widely faring
As Cynon, generous-hearted, of finest attributes,
A refuge for a host on the furthest flank,
Protector, anchor of an army, prince of benefits,
Of those whom I have seen, and see, in battle,
Bearing arms, the most valiant in the fight.

Ni thraethai na wnelai Cynon galan:
Un seirchiog, saffwyog, sôn edlydan,
Seiniesyd ei gleddyf ym mhen garthan.
Nog y cysgyg carreg fawr ei hadfan
Ni mwy gysgogid Wid fab Peithan.

37 XXXV A

Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd mor anfonog.
Oni bai Forien ail Caradog
Nid engis yn nhrwm i lwrw mynog
Dywal ddywalach no mab Fferog.
Ffêr ei law, ffaglai ffowys farchog,
Glew dias, dinas i lu ofnog.
Rhag byddin Ododdin bu wasgarog ei gylchwy,
Dan ei gymwy bu addefog.
Yn nydd gŵyth bu ystwyth, neu bwyth adfeilliog:
Dyrllyddai feddgyrn aillt Mynyddog.

38 XXXVI A

Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd mor ddiesig . . .
No Chynon, lary fron, geinion wledig.
Neud ef eisteddai yn nhâl lleithig,
Y neb a wanai, nid adwenid.
Rhaglym ei waywawr,
Calchdrai, tyllai fyddinawr,
Rhagfuan ei feirch, rhagrygïawr.
Yn nydd gŵyth adwyth oedd ei lafnawr,
Pan grysiai Gynon gan wyrdd wawr.

39 XXXVII A

Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd mor ddianaf lew . . .
Mor hael, baran llew, llwybr fwyaf
Â Chynon, lary fron, addon decaf,
Dinas i ddias ar lled eithaf,
Dôr, angor byddin, budd eiliasaf,
O'r sawl a welais ac a welaf ym myd
Yn ymddwyn arf, gryd wryd wriaf.

He slew the enemy with the sharpest blade,
Like rushes they fell before his hand.
Son of Clydno of enduring fame, I will sing to thee, lord,
Praise without bounds, without limit.

40

He attacked in battle, in the forefront,
He drove out the enemy, he set a boundary.
A spear-thrusting lord, laughing in war,
He pressed forward with courage, like Elffin,
The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.

41

He attacked in battle, in the forefront,
In return for mead in the hall and drinking of wine.
He cast his spears between two armies,
A magnificent horseman before the Gododdin,
The celebrated Eithinyn, wall of battle, bull of combat.

42

He attacked in battle before the cattle-herds of the eastlands,
Like a wild beast: I honour him.
In return for the mead of Gwanannon, of greatest valour,
Powerful and fortunate, a splendid leader
Was the celebrated Eithinyn son of Boddw Adaf.

43

Mighty warriors went from among us,
They were nurtured on wine and mead.
Because of the feast of Mynyddog
I am sorrowful
For the loss of the harsh man of battle.
Like thunder
Shields resounded
Before the onslaught of Eithinyn.

Ef lladdai oswydd â llafn llymaf,
Mal brwyn yd gwyddynt rhag ei adaf.
Mab Clydno clod hir, canaf it, iôr,
Glod heb or, heb eithaf.

40 XXXVIII A

Disgynsid yn nhrwm, yng nghysefin,
Ef diodes gormes, ef dodes ffin.
Ergyrwayw riau, rhyfel chwerthin,
Hud effyd ei wryd i lwrw Elffin,
Eithinyn folaid, mur graid, tarw trin.

41 XXXIX A

Disgynsid yn nhrwm, yng nghysefin,
Gwerth medd yng nghyntedd a gwirod win.
Heesid ei lafnawr rhwng dwy fyddin,
Ardderchog farchog rhag Gododdin,
Eithinyn folaid, mur graid, tarw trin.

42 XL B

Disgynsid yn nhrwm rhag dwyrain alaf,
Cynhebyg i gelew: erydmygaf.
Gwanannon gwerth medd, gwryd fwyaf,
A gwych ffodiog, gwychog hynaf,
Eithinyn folaid mab Boddw Adaf.

43 XLI B

Gwŷr gormant aethant cennyn,
Gwinfaith a meddfaith oeddyn.
O ancwyn Mynyddog
Handwyf cymrwynog
O goll gŵr gŵnedd rhyn.
Mal taranawr
Ef tarddai sgwydawr
Rhag rhynnawdd Eithinyn.

44

He attacked in battle before the cattle-herds of the eastlands,
A host with lowered shields arose.
With shattered shield before the cattle, the vociferous
Beli,
A lord above the bloodshed, speedy defender of the border,
A grey-haired warrior, a gold-torqued ox,
Sustained us on his leading horse, spirited and erect.
A boar pledged himself before the treacherous boundary,
Worthy of his rights, resister with a battle-cry:
'Let Him who calls us to heaven be a protector in battle!'
He brandished his javelins.
Cadfannan, with great praise, acquired booty,
It was not disputed that a host would be humbled before
him.

45

For the battle, a sorrowful disaster,
For the fair but devastated land,
For the falling of hair from the head,
For his warriors, Gwyddien was an eagle;
Fiercely he protected them with his spear,
Its owner planned its use with skill.
Morien defended
The fair song of Myrddin and laid the head
Of a chief in the earth, with support and sanction.
The equal of three men, for the favour of a maiden, was
Bradwen:
Of twelve, Gwenabwy son of Gwen.

46

For the battle, a sorrowful disaster,
The shields rendered service in combat,
In the turmoil there was a sword-stroke on the head,
In England there were men cut down before three hundred
chieftains.
He who holds a wolf's mane without spear in his hand
Has a bold spirit under his mantle:
From the encounter of strife and destruction
Bradwen did not escape; he died.

44 XLII A

Disgynsid yn nhrwm rhag dwyrain alafawr,
Wyre llu llaes ysgwydawr.
Ysgwydfriw rhag biw, Beli bloeddfawr,
Når odd uch gwyar, ffin ffestiniawr,
A'n deliid cynllwyd i ar gynhorawr,
Gorwydd gwareus, rhith rhyn, ych eurdorchawr.
Twrch gorug amod ymlaen ystre ystrywiawr,
Teilyng daith, gwrthiad gawr:
'A'n gelwid i nef bid athleddawr ym mid!'
Ef crynid ei gadwaywawr.
Cadfannan ryorug clud, clod fawr,
Ni chynhennid na bai llu iddo llawr.

45 XLIII A & B

Am drynni drylaw drylen,
Am lwys, am ddiffwys dywarchen,
Am gwyddo gwallt i ar ben,
I am wŷr, eryr Gwyddien;
Gwyddug neus amug â'i wialen,
Dulliad, diwylliad ei berchen.
Amug Morien
Gwenwawd Myrddin a chyfrannu pen
Prif yng ngweryd â channerth a chamen.
Trywyr, er bodd bun, Bradwen:
Deuddeg, Gwenabwy fab Gwen.

46 XLIV A & B

Am drynni drylaw drylen,
Gweinyddiawr ysgwydawr yng ngweithien,
Yn arial cleddyfal am ben,
Yn Lloegr trychion rhag trychant unben.
A ddalwy mwng blaidd heb bren yn ei law
Gnawd gwychnawd yn ei len:
O gyfrang gŵyth ac asgen
Trengis, ni ddiengis, Bradwen.

47

Gold on the wall of a fortress,
Brilliant in attack . . .
No one who is living can tell
Of the deeds of the chieftain,
Of his splendid nature;
The Gododdin do not relate on the day of battle
That Cynhafal was no protector.

48

When thou wast a warrior of renown
Seizing the land of the enemy,
Deservedly we were called illustrious men of note.
He was a powerful protector, an unyielding stronghold of refuge,
He was courteous to those who sought him with persistency,
He was a fortress for an army which trusted him:
Where he was not, was not called delight.

49

I am no weary lord,
I avenge no provocation,
I do not laugh
Beneath the feet of hairy slugs.
Outstretched is my knee
In an earthy dwelling,
An iron chain
Around my knees.
About mead from the drinking-horn,
About the men of Catraeth,
I, yet not I, Aneirin
(Taliesin knows it,
Skilled in expression)
Sang *Y Gododdin*
Before the next day dawned.

47 XLV A & B & C

Aur ar fur caer,
Crysgwyddiad claer . . .
Nis adrawdd a fo byw
O ddamweiniaid llyw
Odd amluch lafanad;
Nis adrawdd Gododdin yn nydd pleingiaid
Na bai Cynhafal cynheilwad.

48 XLVI A

Pan fuost ti cynifyn clod
Yn amwyn tywysen gorddirod,
O haeddod y'n gelwid rhyddyrch wŷr nod.
Oedd dôr ddiachor, diachor ddin drai,
Oedd mynud wrth olud a'i cyrchai,
Oedd dinas i fyddin a'i cretai:
Ni elwid gwynfyd men na bai.

49 XLVIII A

Nid wyf fynog blin,
Ni ddialaf orddin,
Ni chwarddaf chwerthin
O dan droed rhonin.
Estynnog fy nglin
Yn nhŷ deyerin,
Cadwyn heyernin
Am ben fy neulin.
O fedd o fuelin,
O Gatraeth werin,
Mi na fi Neirin,
Ys gŵyr Taliesin
Ofeg gywrennin,
Neu cheint *Ododdin*
Cyn gwawr dydd dilin.

50

Heroic deed of the North, the warrior performed it,
A generous-hearted bountiful lord by his nature:
There does not travel the earth, no mother has brought forth,
One so comely and powerful, armoured in iron.
By the strength of his shining sword he defended me,
From the cruel imprisonment of earth he delivered me,
From a place of death, from enemy land,—
Cenau son of Llywarch, undaunted, bold.

51

The court of Senyllt bore no shame
With its mead-filled vessels:
He meted out the sword to the wrongdoer,
He apportioned assaults to warfare.
He carried away blood-stained men in his arms
Before the army of Deifr and Brynaich.
In his hall there were wont to be swift horses,
Blood and dark-blue armour,
A long yellow spear in his hand,
And in his anger he would hasten.
Smiling and frowning alternately,
Unkind and kind by turns,
With warriors who did not show their heels in flight
Heilyn assailed every land.

52

His enemies fear his weapon,
A fierce eagle, laughing in battle.
Sharp are his spears around Bancarw,
The fingers of the freckled one shatter a head.
Of many moods, genial, turbulent,
Of many moods, thoughtful, merry,
Rhys consumed with spirit, speed and ostentation:
Not so those who do not achieve their purpose.
Those whom he chances to overtake will not escape.

50 XLIX A

Gwroledd Gogledd, gŵr a'i gorug,
Llary fron haeladdon 'n ei eisyllud:
Nid ymdda daear, mam nid ymddûg
Mor eirian gadarn, haearn gaddug.
O nerth y cleddyf claer y'm hamug,
O garchar anwar daear y'm dug,
O gyfle angau, o angar dud,
Cenau fab Llywarch, ddihafarch ddrud.

51 L A

Nid ef borthi gwarth gorsedd Senyllt
A'i llestri llawn medd:
Goddolai gleddyf i garedd,
Goddolai lemain i ryfel.
Dyfforthai lynwysawr o'i fraich
Rhag byddin Deifr a Brynaich.
Gnawd yn ei neuadd fythfeirch,
Gwyar a gwrmseirch,
Ceingiell hiriell o'i law,
Ac yn ei lid brysiaw.
Gwên ac ymhyrddwen hyrddbaid,
Diserch a serch ar dro,
Gwŷr nid oeddyn ddrych draed ffo,
Heilyn achubiad pob bro.

52 LII A

Ergryn ei alon arf
Eryr brwydrin, trin tra chwardd.
Cwr ei fanceirw am gwr Bancarw,
Bysedd brych briwant bar.
Ambwyll, amddistair, amddistardd,
Ambwyll, amroddig, amrychwardd,
Ys browys brys treuliodd Rhys yn rhodres:
Ni hu wy ni gaffwy eu neges.
Nid angwy a wanwy oddiwes.

53

Not fortunately was the shield pierced
On genial Cynwal.
Not fortunately did he lay his thigh
Across the long-legged slender grey.
Yellow was his spear, yellow,
Yellower his saddle.
The brave one is in his hut
Gnawing the leg
Of a buck, a gain in his hand;
For him may it be a rarity.

54

A fine gift, Addonwy, hadst thou promised me:
That which Bradwen did thou wouldst do; thou wouldst slay, thou wouldst burn,
Thou wouldst not do worse than Morien.
Thou didst not hold the wing or the van.
With thy bold clear eye
Thou didst not see the surging fury of the horsemen:
They slew, they gave no quarter to the Saxons.

55

The warriors arose, they assembled,
Together with one accord they attacked.
Short were their lives, long their kinsmen's grief for them,
They slew seven times their number of the English.
By fighting they made women widows,
Many a mother with her tear on her eyelid.

56

After wine-feast and mead-feast they went from us,
Mail-coated; I know the sadness of their death.
Ere they turned grey they were slain,
Before Catraeth their host was swift.
Of the retinue of Mynyddog, a great sorrow,
Of three hundred, save one man, none returned.

53 LIII A

Ni mad waned ysgwyd
Ar Gynwal carnwyd;
Ni mad ddodes morddwyd
Ar freichir meinllwyd.
Gell ei baladr, gell,
Gellach ei obell.
Y mae dewr yn ei gell
Yn cnoi angell
Bwch, budd o'i law;
Iddaw poed ymbell.

54 LIV A & B

Da ddofod, Addonwy, a'm addawsud:
A wnelai Fradwen gwnelud; lladdud, llosgud,
No Morien ni waeth wnelud.
Ni chedwaist nac eithaf na chynnor.
Ysgwn ddrem ddibennor
Ni welaist ymorchwydd mawr marchogion:
Wy lleddyn, ni roddyn nawdd i Saeson.

55 LVIII A

Cywyrain cedwyr, cyfarfuant,
I gyd yn un fryd yd gyrchasant.
Byr eu hoedl, hir eu hoed ar eu carant,
Saith gymaint o Loegrwys a laddasant.
O gyfrysedd gwragedd gwyddw a wnaethant,
Llawer mam a'i deigr ar ei hamrant.

56 LX A

O winfaeth a meddfaeth ydd aethant i gennyn,
Llurugogion, neus gwn llaith letgynt.
Cyn llwydedd eu lleas dyddarfu,
Rhag Catraeth oedd ffraeth eu llu.
O osgordd Fynyddog, fawr dru,
O drychant, namyn un gŵr ni ddyfu.

57

After wine-feast and mead-feast they attacked,
Men in battle, renowned, heedless of their lives.
In bright array around the bowl they fed together,
They enjoyed wine and mead and malt.
On account of the retinue of Mynyddog I am sorrowful,
Too many have I lost of my true kinsmen.
Of three hundred champions who attacked Catraeth,
Alas, save one man, none returned.

58

As in the hosting he was always
    Like a bounding ball,
So he was until the return.
The Gododdin likewise enjoyed
Wine and mead in the harsh
    Straits of border conflict,
And beneath Cadfannan there were sorrel steeds,
Fierce horseman in the morning.

59

The anchor, scatterer of the Deirans,
Serpent with the terrible sting,
He would trample on the dark-blue armour
    In the forefront of the army.
A fearful bear,
Violent defender,
He would trample on spears
In the day of battle
    In the alder-grown moat.
A lord worthy of Neddig,
Through his fury he brought
A feast for the birds
    From the uproar of battle.
Rightly art thou called from thy faithful deed
Ruler, leader, wall of the battle-host,
Merin son of Madiain, fortunately wast thou born.

57 LXI A & B

O winfaeth a meddfaeth yd grysiasant,
Gwŷr yn rhaid, molaid, enaid ddichwant.
Gloyw ddull i am drull yd gydfaethant,
Gwin a medd a mall a amucsant.
O osgordd Fynyddog handwyf adfeilliog,
A rhwy a gollais o'm gwir garant.
O drychan rhiallu yd grysiasant Gatraeth,
Tru, namyn un gŵr nid atgorsant.

58 LXII A

Hu byddai yng nghywyre yn bresent
  Mal pêl ar ry-re,
Hu byddai oni fai atre.
Hud amug Ododdin
Win a medd yn niedyng
  Yng ystryng ystre,
Ac o dan Gadfannan cochre feirch,
Marchog godrudd ym more.

59 LXIII A & B

Angor, Dewr daen,
Sarff saffwy graen,
Sengi wrmgaen
    Ym mlaen byddin.
Arth arwynawl,
Drwsiad dreisiawr,
Sengi waywawr
Yn nydd cadiawr
    Yng nghlawdd gwernin.
Ail Neddig nâr,
Neus dug trwy fâr
Gwledd i adar
    O drydar drin.
Cywir y'th elwir o'th gywir weithred
Rector, rhwyfiadur, mur cadfiled,
Merin am Madiain, mad y'th aned.

60

The anchor, scatterer of the Deirans,
An immovable rock
In the forefront of the army.
Blood-stained were many,
Both horses and men,
Before the Gododdin.
Swift were the baying hounds,
A host mustering,
Total defence in the mist of battle
Before Merin's stronghold.

61

The anchor, scatterer of the Deirans,
Serpent with the terrible sting,
An immovable rock
In the forefront of the army.
A store of vigour,
Violence beyond affliction,
Abundant merit
In the pressure of spears.
Rightly art thou called from thy faithful deed
Ruler, leader, wall of every compatriot,
Tudfwlch, harsh one of battle, a fortress barred.

62

With blood-stained blades
Covering the ground,
A hero bloodied in fury;
A champion, a slayer,
He was joyful
Defending his position, the wolf of the host;
The herb-garden of the war-band,
A champion killing,
Before he was blinded he was no weakling.
Rightly art thou called from thy faithful deed
Ruler, helmsman, wall of every compatriot,
Tudfwlch, harsh one of battle, a fortress barred.

60 LXIII C

Angor, Dewr daen,
Anysgogfaen
Ym mlaen byddin.
Lledrudd llewyr,
A meirch a gwŷr,
Rhag Gododdin.
Re cŵn cyfarth,
Cyfwyrain barth,
Cymre tawd tarth
Rhag garth Merin.

61 LXIII D

Angor, Dewr daen,
Sarff saffwy graen,
Ansgogedfaen
Ym mlaen byddin.
Arial arlwy,
Trais tra chymwy,
Yn rhwy gobrwy
Gorddwy läin.
Cywir y'th elwir o'th gywir weithred
Rector, rhwyfiadur, mur pob cyfiaith,
Tudfwlch, treisig aer, caer o ddylaith.

62 LXIII E

Llafnawr lledrudd,
Llawr gyfachludd,
Gwron gworudd ym maran;
Llawrwr, lleiddiad,
Llawen fyddad,
Stadal fleiddiad, blaidd cyman;
Lluarth teulu,
Llawr yn lladdu,
Cyn no'i ddallu ni bu gwan.
Cywir y'th elwir o'th gywir wraith
Rector, llywiadur, mur pob cyfiaith,
Tudfwlch, treisig aer, caer o ddylaith.

63

The most fitting song of the host was obtained:
Our warriors did battle around Catraeth,
Blood-stained clothes were trodden down.
The trees of battle were trampled upon,
Retribution for the payment of mead,
With corpses it was decided.
Cibno does not tell that after the uproar of battle,
Though he took communion, he received his reward.

64

A fitting song of a noble host:
The sound of fire and thunder and flood-tide.
Excelling in courage, a horseman in the turmoil,
A blood-shedding reaper, he longed for war.
The warrior tirelessly rushed to battle
In whatever land he heard tidings of it.
With his shield on his shoulder he would take up a spear
As if it were sparkling wine from glass vessels.
There was silver around his mead, gold was his due;
Gwaednerth son of Llywri had been reared on wine.

65

The most fitting song of brilliant retinues:
And before the protector of Aeron was lost
The beaks of grey eagles esteemed his hand;
In his fury he fed birds of prey.
For the sake of Mynyddog, horseman of hosts,
He set his side against the enemy's spears.
Before Catraeth gold-torqued warriors were swift,
They charged, they slew those who withstood,
The whelps of violence were away from their land.
Rarely in battle from among the Britons
Of Gododdin was there one by far better than Cynon.

63 LXIV A & B

Erddlyedaf canu cyman caffad:
Ein cedwyr am Gatraeth ry-wnaeth brithred,
Brithwe adwyar sathar sanged.
Sengid gwŷdd gŵnedd,
Dial am dâl medd,
O galanedd cyfrynged.
Nis adrawdd Cibno gwedi cyffro cad,
Cyfai cymun iddo, ceffi daered.

64 LXV A

Arddyledog ganu cyman ofri:
Twrf tân a tharan a rhyferthi.
Gwryd ardderchog, marchog mysgi,
Rhuddfedel, rhyfel a eidduni.
Gŵr gŵnedd difuddiog difyngi i gad
O'r maint gwlad ydd i clywi.
A'i ysgwyd ar ei ysgwydd hud arfolli woyw
Mal gwin gloyw o wydrlestri.
Ariant am ei fedd, aur dylyi;
Gwinfaeth oedd Waednerth fab Llywri.

65 LXVI A & B

Erddlyedaf canu claer orchyrddon:
A chyn bu difant dylaith Aeron
Rhifesid ei loflen pen eryron llwyd;
Yn annwyd gworeu bwyd i sglyfon.
Ar les Mynyddog, marchog maon,
Ef dodes ei du ar wayw galon.
Ar Gatraeth oedd ffraeth eurdorchogion,
Wy gwenynt, lleddynt seifogion,
Oedd ech eu tymyr trais ganaon.
Oedd odid ym mid o barth Brython
Gododdin o bell gwell no Chynon.

66

The most fitting song of a skilful host:
A joyful little place in the world, it was generous.
He desired around him the praise of minstrels
In return for gold and great horses and drunkenness on mead,
But when he returned from battle
Blood-stained men praised Cynddilig Aeron.

67

A fitting song of brilliant retinues
On the expedition of Mynyddog, the prince of hosts,
And the daughter of Eudaf Hir, the oppressor of Gwanannon,
Who was clothed in purple, a land of broken men.

68

The stewards could not suffer the clamour in the hall
From the battle-host, the outbreak of contention,
Like a fire blazing when kindled.
On Tuesday they put on their fine covering,
On Wednesday their common desire was bitter,
On Thursday envoys were pledged,
On Friday the carnage was reckoned,
On Saturday their joint action was swift,
On Sunday blood-red blades were shared out,
On Monday blood flowing up to the thighs was seen.
The men of Gododdin relate that after weariness
On the return before Madog's tent
There would come but one man from a hundred.

69

Rising early in the morning
To strive with a chieftain before the boundary,
He resisted bitterly
In the van of battle,
A beloved friend
Where he pleased.
He was tenacious, courteous, he was grave,
He was a threatening pillar of war.

66 LXVII A & B

Erddlyedaf canu cyman cywraint:
Llawen llogell byd, bu diddichwant.
Hu mynnai yng nghylch byd eidol anant
Er aur a meirch mawr, a medd feddwaint,
Namyn yn y delai o fid hoffeint
Cynddilig Aeron wŷr nofant.

67 LXVIII A

Arddyledog ganu claer orchyrddon
Ar neges Mynyddog, mynog maon,
A merch Eudaf Hir, drais Gwanannon,
Oedd borffor wisgiadur, dir amdrychion.

68 LXIX A & B

Ni phorthynt feiri molud nyfed
Rhag trin riallu, trin orthorred,
Tebyg tân terydd trwy gyneued.
Diw Mawrth gwisgasant eu cain dudded,
Diw Merchyr bu chwerw eu cyduned,
Difiau cenhadau amoded,
Diw Gwener calanedd cyfrifed,
Diw Sadwrn bu difwrn eu cydweithred,
Diw Sul llafnau rhudd a adranned,
Diw Llun hyd ben clun gwaedlin gweled.
Neus adrawdd Gododdin gwedi lludded
Rhag pebyll Madog pan atgoried
Namyn un gŵr o gant ni ddeled.

69 LXX A & B

Moch arwyraith ym more
I gynnif â pheryf rhag stre,
Bu cyfarth weirwiad
Yng nghynnor cad,
Cyfaill argarad
Yn yd gre.
Bu golud, mynud, bu lle,
Bu gwanar gweilging gwrmdde.

70

Rising early in the morning
When warriors rush forward in the army,
From one front position to another pursuing,
Before a host he charged foremost.
Fiercely did you make blood flow,
Like drinking mead while laughing;
Easily did you strike down corpses
With a fierce swift sword-stroke.
It was so pitilessly
That he slew the enemy,
Gwrhafal in the army.

71

He fell to the depths, headlong,
The skilful chieftain did not fulfil his intention,
His killing with a spear was a violation of privilege.
Ywain's custom was to approach the border,
Couching his best spear before he was laid low,
Pursuing slaughter, his loss was mourned in dirges . . .
Modest before a maiden was the head of judgement,
The possessor of horses and dark-blue armour and icy-hued shields,
With comrades fighting side by side, retreating, attacking.

72

Battle-leader, he led to war,
The land's multitude loved the mighty reaper.
On the green earth there was blood around the fresh grave,
He wore armour over his crimson garments.
A trampler on armour, armour's trampler,
Like unto death weariness falls.
Spears were shattered at the commencement of battle,
A path to a clearing was the aim of the spearthrust.

70 LXXI A & B

Moch arwyraith ym meitin
Pan grys cynrain ym myddin,
O dywys yn nhywys yn dilin,
Rhag cant ef gwant gysefin.
Oedd garw y gwnaewch chwi waedlin,
Mal yfed medd trwy chwerthin;
Oedd llew y lladdewch chwi ddynin,
Cleddyfal dywal ffysgiolin.
Oedd mor ddiachar
Yd laddai esgar
Gwrhafal ym myddin.

71 LXXII A

Disgynnwys yn affwys dra phen,
Ni ddeliyd cywyd cywrennin ben,
Dysgïawr braint fu ei ladd ar gangen.
Cynneddf i Ywain ar ystre esgyn,
Ystwng cyn gorod gorau gangen,
Dylud dilain, cathlau ddilen . . .
Dysgïawr pan fai bun barn ben,
Perchen meirch a gwrmseirch ac ysgwydawr iäen,
Gogyfoed gogyfergyr, esgyn, disgyn.

72 LXXIII A

Aer dywys, rydywys ryfel,
Gwlatgordd garai gwrddfedel.
Gwyrdd weryd gwaed am irfedd,
Seirchiawr am ei rudd yd fedd.
Seingiad am seirch, seirch seingiad,
Ar ddelw llaith dygïawr lludded.
Peleidr yn ais yn nechrau cad,
Hynt am leu bu goddeu peleidriad.

73

I sang a skilful song about the destruction of thy dwelling
And the hall that was.
It deserved mead, sweet, ensnaring,
The attack on the champion's court at dawn,
A handsome gift to the hosts of the English,
Too great a penance while their presence was allowed.
A man of Gwynedd, his excellence will be known,
In Gwanannon is his grave.
The steadfast war-avid one of Gwynedd,
Bull of an army, violent in the conflict of kings
Before earth's resting-place, before burial:
The borderland of Gododdin is his grave.

74

An army accustomed to battle,
A lord, leading a host, cruel of hand,
He was wise, refined and proud,
He was not churlish to a fellow-drinker,
White horses neighed under his protection,
It did not profit the land of Pobddelw.
We are called the wing and van of the host in battle:
In the clash of spears, spears were coequal.
With the armed power of a champion's whetted weapons
in a conflict,
A pike in the turmoil, in the battle-tumult,
He was a man of vigour with flaming steel against the
enemy.

75

He fought against a violent enemy,
The angry slayer of a plundering host,
He was not inconspicuous or a fugitive,
Erf was no bitter-sweet fellow-drinker,
Grey horses neighed under his protection,
It did not profit the land of Pobddelw.
The bull of battle did not retreat an acre's width,
Harsh of purpose, agile in form.

73 LXXIV A

Ceint amnad am ddifa dy gell
Ac ystafell yd fyddad.
Dyrllyddai medd melys maglawr,
Gwrŷs aergynglys gan wawr,
Ced lwys Lloegrwys liwedawr,
Rhy benyd ar hyd ydd atawr.
Aillt Wynedd clywer ei ardderchedd,
Gwanannon bid fedd.
Safwy cadafwy Gwynedd,
Tarw byddin, trais trin tëyrnedd
Cyn cywest daear, cyn gorwedd:
Bid orffin Gododdin bedd.

74 LXXV A

Byddin orddyfnad yn agerw,
Mynog lluyddog llawchwerw,
Bu doeth a choeth a syberw,
Nid oedd ef wrth gyfedd gochwerw,
Mudyn geinion ar ei helw,
Nid oedd ar lles bro Pobddelw.
A'n gelwir or a chynnor ym mhlymnwyd:
Yn nhryfrwyd peleidr, peleidr gogymwyd.
Goglysur heyrn llifaid llawr yn arswyd,
Sychyn yng ngorun, yn nhrydar,
Gŵr ffrwythlon fflamddur rhag esgar.

75 LXXV B

Cyfarfu ag agerw
Du leiddiad llu herw,
Ni bu achyhoedd a chyherw,
Ni bu Erf gyfedd chweg chwerw,
Gnisynt gweilwion ar ei helw,
Nid oedd ar lles bro Pobddelw.
Ni chiliws tarw trin led un erw,
Traws ei achaws, llyfrddelw.

76

Mynog of Gododdin will be praised in song,
Princely in generosity, he will be mourned,
Before Eidyn the spirit of fire will not return,
He placed his chosen warriors in the vanguard,
He set up a stronghold in the face of battle,
Vigorously he fell upon a fierce adversary,
Because he feasted he suffered great hardship.
From the retinue of Mynyddog there escaped
But one weapon-brandishing dire warrior.

77

After the loss of Moried there has been no shield,
They bore, they extolled the champion.
He carried blue blades in his hand,—
Heavy spears endangered the chief threatener,—
On a dapple-grey horse, arching its neck.
With carnage in layers before his blades
When he prevailed in his fight, he was no runaway:
The sweet ensnaring mead deserved our praise.

78

Fortunately victorious, lithe and fair, the backbone of a
timid host,
With his blue sword repelling the foe from overseas,
A powerful hero with a mighty hand,
Stout-hearted, skilful, they strike him.
His custom was to attack
Before nine champions
In the presence of the army and the host,
Hurling defiance.
I love the victor, there was a couch beneath him,
Cynddilig Aeron, splendidly brave.

79

I should have loved to attack at Catraeth, the foremost,
In return for mead in the hall and drink of wine.

76 LXXVII A

Mynog Gododdin traethiannor,
Mynog am ran cwyniador,
Rhag Eidyn arial fflam nid atgor,
Ef dodes ei ddilys yng nghynnor,
Ef dodes rhag trin tewddor,
Yn arial ar ddywal disgynnwys,
Can llewes porthes mawrbwys.
O osgordd Fynyddog ni ddiangwys
Namyn un, arf amddiffryd, amddiffwys.

77 LXXVIII A

O golled Moried ni bu aesawr,
Dyfforthyn, traethiennyn llawr.
Ry-ddug o'i loflen las lafnawr,
Peleidr pwys periglyn pen periglawr,
I ar orwydd erchlas penweddawr.
Trinddygwydd trwch rhag ei lafnawr
Pan orfydd o'i gad, ni bu ffoawr:
A'n dyrllys moled medd melys maglawr.

78 LXXX A

Mad fuddig ysgafnwyn, asgwrn adfaon,
A'i lasog tebedog tramordwy alon,
Gwrawl amddyfrwys gorfawr ei law,
Gwryd fron, gwrfan, gwanan arnaw.
Ei gynneddf disgynnu
Rhag naw rhiallu
Yng ngŵydd gwaedd a llu,
A gorddygnaw.
Caraf fuddig, lleithig a fu adanaw,
Cynddilig Aeron, cynnan lew.

79 LXXXI A

Caraswn ddisgynnu yng Nghatraeth gysefin
Gwerth medd yng nghyntedd a gwirod win.

I should have loved him who found no fault in a spear,
Before his death, in his green Uffin.
I should have loved the son of renown, he caused bloodshed:
He wielded his sword with ferocity.
Men of valour do not relate before the Gododdin
That the son of Ceidio was not a famous warrior.

80

Grievous for me, after toil,
Is the suffering of death's agony in affliction,
And again it is a heavy grief for me to see
The headlong fall of our men,
And long sighing and lamentation
After the valiant warriors of our land and territory,
Rhufon and Gwgon, Gwion and Gwlged,
Bravest men in their stations, mighty in conflict.
May there be for their souls after battle
A welcome in the land of heaven, the home of plenty.

81

He repelled the attack over a pool of blood,
Valiantly he struck down a rank which did not flee.
Tafloyw with a flourish would toss off a glass of mead,
Before kings he would overthrow an army.
His counsel was heeded where many do not speak,
Were he coarse he would not have been heard.
Before the charge of axe-blows and sharpened swords
There is a clamorous feast . . . .

82

Haven of an army,
Spear of the haven,
And a distinguished host
In forward position
On the day of battle
In the conflict.

Caraswn ni chablwys ar lläin,
Cyn bu ei leas, o'i las Uffin.
Caraswn ail clod, dyfforthes gwaedlin:
Ef dodes ei gleddyf yng ngoeithin.
Nis adrawdd gwryd rhag Gododdin
Na bai mab Ceidio clod un gŵr trin.

80 LXXXII A

Truan yw gennyf, gwedi lludded,
Goddef gloes angau trwy anghyffred,
Ac ail trwm truan gennyf gweled
Dygwyddo ein gwŷr ben o draed,
Ac uchenaid hir ac eilywed
Yn ôl gwŷr pybyr tymyr tydwed,
Rhufon a Gwgon, Gwion a Gwlged,
Gwŷr gorsaf wriaf, gwrdd yng nghaled.
Ys deupo i'w henaid wedi trined
Cynnwys yng ngwlad nef, addef afneued.

81 LXXXIII A

Ef gwrthodes tres tra gwyar llyn,
Ef lladdai fal dewr dull ni dechyn.
Tafloyw ag ysgedd taflai wydrin o fedd,
Rhag tëyrnedd taflai fyddin.
Mynid ei gyngor men na lleferid lliaws,
Ac fai anwaws nid endewid.
Rhag rhuthr bwyellodau a chleddyfawr llifaid
Handid gwelid llafar lleir.

82 LXXXIV A

Porthloedd byddin,
Porthloedd läin,
A llu rhagwedd
Yn rhagyrwedd
Yn nydd gŵnedd
Yng nghyfrysedd.

They were savage
After drunkenness
And the drinking of mead.
There was no escape
From our successful assault
On the day of the mighty charge,
When it was told
A host was broken
Of horses and men,
Tyngyr's fate.

83

When there comes upon me
A host of cares,
I ponder my fear.
With breath failing
As if from running,
Forthwith I weep.
For a dear one I grieved,
A dear one I had loved,
A celebrated stag.
With the men of Argoed
Woe to him whc was wont
To array himself.
Well did he put
Pressure on a host
For the profit of kings,
On rough spears,
On the flood of grief
In return for feasts.
Around the feast
He led us
To a blazing fire,
To a white fleece
And fresh drink.
For Geraint, before the men of the South a cry was raised,
Flashing white, bright was the appearance of the lord's shield,
The spear of the generous renowned lord,
Of the sea's liberality, I know his nature:
I know Geraint, thou wast a bountiful prince.

Buant wythog
Wedi medd-dod
A medd yfed.
Ni bu wared
Ein gorwylam
Yn nydd ffrwythlam,
Pan adrodded
Torred ergyr
O feirch a gwŷr,
Tyngyr dynged.

83 LXXXV A

Pan ym dyfydd
Lliaws pryder,
Pryderaf fraw.
Ffun yn ardeg
Arial rhedeg,
Ar hynt wylaw.
Cu cystuddiwn,
Cu caraswn,
Cellëig ffaw.
Ag Argoedwys
Gwae gorddyfnwys
I ymddulliaw.
Ef da ddodes
Ar lluydd pwys
Ar lles rhiau,
Ar ddilyfn goed,
Ar ddilyw hoed
Er cyfeddau.
Cyfedd wogant
Ef a'n dy-ddug
Ar dân adloyw,
Ac ar groen gwyn
[A llyn] gosgroyw.
Geraint, rhag Dehau gawr a ddoded,
Lluch gwyn, gwyn ddull ar ysgwyd iôr,
Ysbâr llary iôr molud,
Mynud môr, göwn ei eisyllud:
Göwn i Geraint, hael fynog oeddud.

84

Unimpeded in fame, in renown,
An unyielding anchor amid the battle-host,
An invincible eagle of wrathful men,
Eiddef purposed conflict, he was handsome,
He ran before swift horses in battle,
He was fostered with wine from the cup.
Before his early burial, before his cheek grew pale,
He feasted over fine mead from the cup.

85

A death to every champion,
His chain was filled to capacity,
Shattered was the front of his shield;
Impetuous, savage,
Defender of Rhufoniog.
In a second battle were seen around the Aled
His war-horses and his blood-stained armour.
Steadfast,
Powerful in battle
Must brave men be
When angered.
Severely in the conflict with blades he would strike,
A hundred men bore away a bitter warning from battle:
For the New Year feast he provided song.
There would approach the son of Urfai,
There would approach the arrogant boar,
A lady and a maiden and a lord.
And since he was the son of a rightful king,
Lord of the men of Gwynedd, of the blood of Cilydd Gwaredog,
Before earth covered the cheek
Of the noble and prudent one, assured
In his generosity and fame, it is sad
That there is a grave for Gorthyn Hir from the uplands of Rhufoniog.

84 LXXXVI A

Diannod ei glod, ei gludfan,
Diachor angor yng nghyman,
Diechyr eryr gwŷr gofaran,
Trinoddef Eiddef, oedd eirian,
Rhagorai feirch rhagfuan yn nhrin,
Lledfegin gwin o ban.
Cyn glasfedd a glasu ei ran
Bu gŵr gwledd odd uch medd mygr o ban.

85 LXXXVII A & B

Dihenydd i bob llawr, llanwed
Ei hual amhafal afneued,
Twll tâl ei rodawg;
Cas ohir, gwythawg,
Rhufoniawg ddiffred.
Ail waith, gwelideint am Aled
Ei gad feirch a'i seirch greuled.
Bid anysgoged,
Bid gad forion
Gwychyrolion
Pan rygodded.
Trwm yn nhrin â lläin yd laddai,
Chwerw rybudd o gad dyddygai gant:
Cân yng Nghalan darmerthai.
Ef gwenid a dan fab Urfai,
Ef gwenid a dan dwrch trahaog,
Un rhiain a morwyn a mynog.
A chan oedd mab brenin teithïog,
Udd Gwyndyd, gwaed Cilydd Gwaredog,
Cyn golo gweryd ar rudd
Hael edfynt digythrudd
Ei ged a'i glod, echiog
Fod bedd Gorthyn Hir o orthir Rhufoniog.

86

There has come to me a sorrow unsought,
There will not come to me one more grievous,
There was not reared in hall one bolder than he,
Nor in battle one more steadfast,
And at Rhyd Benclwyd his horses were in the forefront,
His fame was far-reaching, his chalked shield shattered,
And before Gwair Hir was buried beneath the sod
The only son of Fferfarch merited his mead-horns.

87

Three hundred gold-torqued warriors attacked
Defending their land, there was slaughter.
Although they were slain, they slew,
And until the end of the world they shall be praised.
And of all of us, kinsmen, who went,
Alas, save one man, none escaped.

88

Three hundred gold-torqued warriors,
Warlike, splendid in action,
Three hundred haughty ones,
Of one mind, fully armed;
Three hundred impetuous horses
Charged forward with them,
Three hounds and three hundred,
Alas, they did not return.

89

Fierce in battle, powerful in combat,
While fighting there was no truce that he would make,
In the day of anger he would not avoid the struggle,
The fury of a boar was Bleiddig son of Eli.
He drank the wine of brimming glass vessels,
And in the day of conflict he performed feats
Upon Arfwl Can; before he died
He left blood-stained corpses behind him.

86 LXXXIX A

Neu'm doddyw anghyfwng o anghyfarch,
Ni'm daw, ni'm dyfydd, a fo trymach,
Ni magwyd yn neuadd a fai lewach nog ef,
Nac yng nghad a fai wastadach,
Ac ar Ryd Benclwyd pennawd oedd ei feirch,
Pellennig ei glod, pellws ei galch,
A chyn golo Gwair Hir o dan dywarch
Dyrllyddai feddgyrn un mab Fferfarch.

87 XC B

Trychant eurdorchog a grysiasant
Yn amwyn breithell, bu edrywant.
Cyd ryladded wy, wy lladdasant,
A hyd orffen byd edmyg fyddant.
Ac o'r sawl a aetham o gyd-garant,
Tru, namyn un gŵr nid enghysant.

88 XCI B

Trychant eurdorchog,
Gwneddgar, gwaenog,
Trychan trahaog,
Cyfun, cyfarfog;
Trychan meirch godrudd
A grysiws ganthudd,
Trychwn a thrychant,
Tru, nid atgorsant.

89 XCII B

Dywal yng nghad, cyfwng yng nghyni,
Yng nghyfrang nid oedd dang as gwnëi,
Yn nydd gŵyth nid ef gwaith gocheli,
Baran baedd oedd Bleiddig mab Eli.
Eryfesid gwin gwydrlestri llawn,
Ac yn nydd camawn camp a wnëi
I ar Arfwl Can; cyn no'i drengi
Calanedd cochwedd a edewi.

90

A shield enduring attack, he would not bow before anyone,
A love of honour would he nurture.
Conquerors from their horses' saddles in the van of battle
Would cast their blood-covered spears of holly.
When my comrade was struck he struck others,
He bore no shame.
The faithful defender of the ford was delighted
When he took the champion's portion in the court.

91

The protection of heaven, an abode in a desired land!
Woe to us from grief and unceasing sorrow!
When trusted men came from the region of Din Eidyn,
The chosen warriors of every prudent land,
In strife with the mixed host of England,
Nine score to one, around each mail-clad man,
A multitude of horses and armour and silken clothing,
Gwaednerth defended his rights through combat.

92

The war-band of Gododdin on rough-haired steeds,
Swan-coloured horses, tightly harnessed,
And in the van of the host an army attacking,
Defending the groves and mead of Eidyn.
Through the counsel of Mynyddog
Shields had been toppled,
Blades had fallen
Upon white cheeks.
They loved . . . to attack,
They bore no shame, the men who did not flee.

93

I drank mead before my journey,
Wine-fed before Catraeth, at one draught.

90 XCIII B

Sgwyd dan woddef, nid estyngai rhag neb,
Wyneb garedd erydfagai.
Diriaid o seirch meirch yng nghynnor gawr
Hëyn gwaywawr celyn creuddai.
Pan waned fy nghyfaill ef gwanai eraill,
Nid oedd amefl yd ddygai.
Diwyd yn cadw rhyd cainasmygai
Pan ddy-ddug cyfran clodfan mordai.

91 XCIV B

Ardwy nef, addef eiddunwlad!
Gwae ni rhag galar ac afar gwastad!
Pan ddoethan deon o Ddin Eidyn barth,
Detholwyr pob doëthwlad,
Yng nghywrysedd â Lloegr, lluydd amad,
Naw ugaint am bob un, am beithynad,
Ardeml meirch a seirch a serig ddillad,
Ardwyai Waednerth ei gerth o gad.

92 XCV B

Gosgordd Gododdin i ar rawn rhyn,
Meirch eiliw eleirch a seirch gwehyn,
Ac yng nghynnor llu lliwed ddisgyn
Yn amwyn calledd a medd Eidyn.
O gusyl Mynyddawg
Trosasai ysgwydawr,
Cwyddasai lafnawr
Ar rannawr gwyn.
Wy ceryn gon gwylaes ddisgyn,
Ni phorthasan warth wŷr ni thechyn.

93 XCVI B

Neud eryfais fedd ar fy ngherdded,
Gwinfaeth rhag Catraeth, yn un gwared.

When he struck with his blades, steadfast in battle,
He was not seen to be mean.
He was no unsightly phantom when giving protection,
The deadly shield-bearer, Madog Elfed.

94

When he came to battle
He was not one to escape with his life.
The avenger of Aeron
Attacked, the gold-adorned
Defender of the Britons:
Cynon's steeds were spirited.

95

He slew a great host
To achieve fame.
The son of Nwython slew
Of the gold-torqued
A hundred princes
So that he might be praised.
It was even better when he went
With the warriors to Catraeth.
A man well nurtured, wine-reared,
Generous-hearted,
A man vigorous in battle,
He was a cuirass-scatterer,
He was hard, impetuous,
Riding his steed.
There did not arm for battle,
Vigorous with spear and shield,
Sword and knife,
Any man who was better
Than Heinif son of Nwython.

96

From beyond the Sea of Iddew, most valiant in battle,
Three times fiercer than a savage lion,
Bubon acted, full of anger.

Pan laddai â'i lafnawr, anysgoged yn nhaer,
Nid oedd wael men yd weled.
Nid oedd hyll edellyll yn ymwared,
Adwythig sgwydog, Madog Elfed.

94 XCVII B

Pan ddêl i gyfranc
Nid oedd hoedlddianc.
Dialwr Aeron,
Cyrchai aur geinion
Arwrthiad Brython:
Browys meirch Cynon.

95 XCVIII B

Ef lladdodd llu mawr
Yng ngwerth ei adrawdd.
Lladdodd mab Nwython
O eurdorchogion
Cant o dëyrnedd
Hyd pan grybwyller.
Bu gwell pryd pan aeth
Can wŷr i Gatraeth.
Oedd aillt ŵr gwinfaeth,
Calon ehelaeth,
Oedd gŵr llwyd heinif,
Oedd llurig deinif,
Oedd gyrth, oedd cuall,
Ar gefn ei gafall.
Ni wisgwys ym mhlymlwyd,
Heinif ei wayw a'i sgwyd
A'i gleddyf a'i gyllell,
No Heinif ab Nwython
Gŵr a fai well.

96 XCIX B

Tra Merin Iddew, trylew yng nghad,
Tri gwaeth ffrawdd ffrawddus lew,
Bubon a woreu, bardew.

97

It was usual on a spirited horse to defend Gododdin
In the forefront of the battle of the ardent ones,
It was usual that on the track of a deer he was swift,
It was usual that before the war-band of the Deirans
he would attack,
It was usual for the son of Golystan's words to be heeded,
Though his father was no prince,
It was usual that on behalf of Mynyddog there were shattered
shields,
Usual was a blood-stained spear before the lord of Eidyn,
Urfai.

98

His blades were seen in the host
Resisting the cruel enemy,
At the resounding of his shield there was flight,
Innumerable men fleeing before the hill of Eidyn.
Not as much as his hand could grip of it would return.
There was wax upon it and fire.
Unyielding, with shattered shield, when pressed he thrust
forward,
He gave no second blow, he struck, he was struck.
Frequent after the feast was his gift to the enemy,
He was cruelly treated.
Before he was buried beneath the cover of earth
Edar deserved his drink of mead.

99

He charged before three hundred of the finest,
He cut down both centre and wing,
He excelled in the forefront of the noblest host,
He gave gifts of horses from the herd in winter.
He fed black ravens on the rampart of a fortress
Though he was no Arthur.
Among the powerful ones in battle,
In the front rank, Gwawrddur was a palisade.

97 C B

Gnawd i ar ffysgiolin amddiffyn Gododdin
Ym mlaen trin terydd rai,
Gnawd yn llwrw alan buan byddai,
Gnawd rhag teulu Dewr ef disgynnai,
Gnawd mab Golystan, cyn ni bai gwledig
Ei dad, yndewid a lafarai,
Gnawd ar les Mynyddawg sgwydawr trai,
Gnawd gwayw rhudd rhag udd Eidyn, Urfai.

98 CI B

Gweled ei lafnawr yn lliwed
Yn cyfamwyn gâl galed,
Rhag godwrf ei aesawr godeched,
Techyn rhag Eidyn fre efrifed.
Maint a gaffai ei law nid atgoriai ohonaw,
Cwyr oedd arnaw a thaned.
Cyndyniog, calchdrai, pan grynied gryniai,
Nid adwanai, rywanai, rywaned.
Oedd mynych gwedi cwyn i esgar ei gyflwyn,
Oedd gwenwyn yd traethed.
A chyn ei olo o dan dydwed daear
Dyrllyddai Edar ei fedd yfed.

99 CII B

Ef gwant tra thrichant echasaf,
Ef lladdai a pherfedd ac eithaf,
Oedd gwiw ym mlaen llu llariaf,
Goddolai o haid meirch y gaeaf.
Gochorai brain du ar fur caer
Cyn ni bai ef Arthur.
Rhwng cyfnerthi yng nghlysur,
Yng nghynnor, gwernor Gwawrddur.

100

His hand fed the birds,
I honour him, great leader.
Ravager, tearer:
He wore gold
In the van of battle,
In the furious struggle of champions.
The freckled dispenser of conflict,
One of the Three Violent Ones,
Pursuer in the onslaught,
The terrible bear, attacker,
A terrifying champion,
The acclaim of a great host,
Cibno the son of Gwengad was handsome.

101 CYNY

(An 'englyn' from the Llywarch Hen Cycle)

Though a hundred men were in one house
I know the cares of Cyny;
Leader of men, he merits the end of the bench.

102 DOMNALL BRECC

(A stanza from Strathclyde)

I saw an array that came from Pentir,
And bore themselves splendidly around the conflagration.
I saw a second one, rapidly descending from their township,
Who had risen at the word of the grandson of Nwython.
I saw great sturdy men who came with the dawn,
And the head of Domnall Brecc, ravens gnawed it.

100 CIII B

Llithiesid adar ei adaf,
Edysmygaf edeifniad,
Eithiniad a rhwygiad:
Ef gwisgws awr
Yng nghynnor gawr,
Yng nghynfaran edeifniad.
Ballog, talgellog cad,
Trydydd Engiriawl,
Erlyniad gawr,
Arth arwynawl, arwygiad.
Gorfloddiad riallu,
Erglywiad hirlu,
Cain fu Gibno mab Gwengad.

101 CYNY XLVII A

(Englyn o Gylch Llywarch Hen)

Cyd bai cannwr yn un tŷ
Adwen ofalon Cyny;
Pen gwŷr, tâl baing a ddyly.

102 DYFNWAL FRYCH LXXIX A & B

(Pennill o Ystrad Glud)

Gwelais i ddull o Bentir a ddoyn,
A berth am goelcerth a ymddygyn.
Gwelais i ddau og eu tre re rygwyddyn,
O air ŵyr Nwython rygodesyn.
Gwelais i wŷr tyllfawr gan wawr a ddoyn,
A phen Dyfnwal Frych brain a'i cnoyn.

103 DINOGAD'S SMOCK
(A Cradle-song)

Dinogad's smock, pied, pied,
It was from martens' skins that I made it.
'Wheed, wheed, a whistling!'
I would sing, eight slaves sang.
When thy father went a-hunting,
A spear on his shoulder, a club in his hand,
He would call the nimble hounds,
'Giff, Gaff; catch, catch, fetch, fetch!'
He would kill a fish in his coracle
As a lion kills its prey.
When thy father went to the mountain
He would bring back a roe-buck, a wild boar, a stag,
A speckled grouse from the mountain,
A fish from Rhaeadr Derwennydd.
Of all those that thy father reached with his lance,
Wild boar and lynx and fox,
None escaped which was not winged.

THE *GORCHAN* OF TUDFWLCH
(Selections)

Scattered weapons,
Broken ranks,
  A host hard pressed
In the presence of riches,
In the presence of magnificence,
  In the presence of splendour . . .
Of loud thunderous cries
Around Tâl Henban
  There was abundance . . .
With spear-shaft eyes,
Shining snake-like
  From the snakes' lair,
A champion art thou,
Ensnarer of champions,
  The desire of a maiden.
Thou didst love a life of danger,

103 PAIS DINOGAD LXXXVIII A
(Hwiangerdd)

Pais Dinogad, fraith fraith,
O grwyn balaod ban wraith.
Chwid, chwid, chwidogaith!'
Gochanwn, gochenyn wythgaith.
Pan elai dy dad di i helia,
Llath ar ei ysgwydd, llory yn ei law,
Ef gelwi gŵn gogyhwg:
'Giff, Gaff; daly, daly, dwg, dwg!'
Ef lleddi bysg yng nghorwg
Mal ban lladd llew llywiwg.
Pan elai dy dad di i fynydd
Dyddygai ef pen iwrch, pen gwythwch, pen hydd,
Pen grugiar fraith o fynydd,
Pen pysg o Raeadr Derwennydd.
O'r sawl yd gyrhaeddai dy dad di â'i gigwain,
O wythwch a llewyn a llwynain,
Nid angai oll ni fai oradain.

GORCHAN TUDFWLCH
(Detholion)

Arf anghynnull,
Anghyman ddull,
  Twrf yn angwedd
I rag meuwedd,
I rag mawrwedd,
  I rag mariedd . . .
Tarianau ban,
Am Dâl Henban
  Bu edrysedd . . .
Pubell beleidr,
Pefr pryd neidr
  O lwch nadredd,
Gwelydd ydd wyd,
Gwelyddon rwyd,
  Rhiain garedd.
Carud freiddfyw,

I loved thee alive,
Rampart of valour.
Heroic bull,
I mourn thy death,
Thou didst love war,
The fury of the sea
In the vanguard of warriors . . .
He repulsed
For the sake of the land
Four hosts,
Four armies
Of the armies of the world
With shattered shields
And blade in hair,
Javelins scattered.
A man of frenzy
From the pale horns
Of morning mead;
A man of qualities
From among the purple,
The haven of an army . . .
For mead and ale
A host advanced
Over their boundary.
In the work of the place of spears,
Faithful to his bond,
He was constant;
Cynan, Cynon,
Teithfyw from Môn,
As a great host;
Tudfwlch, Cyfwlch
Made a breach
On the top of strongholds.
On account of Mynyddog
Bitter were
Their drinks.
A year of longing
For the men of Catraeth,
Who nurtured me, is mine;
For their steel blades,
Their mead pure
From drinking-horns.

Carwn dy fyw,
Fur hyẃredd.
Camhwrog darw,
Cwynaf dy farw,
Carud ddyhedd,
Baran môr
Yng nghynnor gwŷr . . .
Ef gwrthodes
Ar lles peues
Pedwar lliwed,
Pedwar miled
Miledawr byd,
Aesawr yn nellt
A llafn yng ngwallt,
Ais obedror.
Gŵr gwyllias
O gyrn glas
Medd meitin;
Gŵr teithïor
O blith porffor,
Porthloedd byddin . . .
Er medd a chwrf
Yr aethant twrf
Tros eu hawffin.
Gwyalfan waith,
Er cadw cyfraith,
Bu cyfiewin;
Cynan, Cynon,
Teithfyw o Fôn,
Ar fraint gorllin;
Tudfwlch, Cyfwlch
A oreu fwlch
Ar fan caerau.
Gan Fynyddog
Bu adfeilliog
Eu gwirodau.
Blwyddyn hiraeth
Er gwŷr Catraeth,
A'm maeth, ys mau;
Eu llafnau dur,
Eu medd yn bur
O fualau.

Scattered weapons,
Broken ranks,
I heard the uproar.

THE *GORCHAN* OF CYNFELYN
(Selections)

A deep distress comes
To Gwynasedd Felyn,
His blood around him,
Hidden the foam
Of fine yellow mead;
His blood around him
Before the hosts of Cynfelyn,
Cynfelyn the wrathful,
The bold one, foremost with spear,
Feeder of birds
On bloody corpses.
Long-striding horses galloped
Beneath the thighs of noble warriors,
Swift as the movement of the wild men
Over the grassy plain.
A prince, riches of his people,
It is mine to mourn him
Until I am in my silent day,
Feller of the enemy
With broad-hafted weapon.
The pride of honourable hosts
Is the *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn;
The *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn,
Guardian of the border,
Discerning warrior,
Gwynedd was his land . . .
The *Gorchan* of Cynfelyn, joined to *Y Gododdin*,
Has made full commendation of the man.
He gave me his fine gilded spear,
May it benefit his soul.

Arf anghynnull,
Anghyman ddull,
Twrf neus ciglau.

GORCHAN CYNFELYN
(Detholion)

A galar dwfn dyfydd
I Wynasedd Felyn,
Ei grau o'i gylchyn,
Celedig ewyn
Medd mygr melyn;
Ei grau o'i gylchyn
Rhag cadau Cynfelyn,
Cynfelyn gasnar,
Ysgwn, bryffwn bâr,
Goborthiad adar
Ar ddynin adwyar.
Dyrraith graddforion
O dan forddwyd haelon,
Cyfred cerdd wyllion
Ar wellin dirion.
Teyrn, tud anaw,
Ys mau ei gwynaw
Oni fwyf yn nydd taw,
Gomyniad gelyn,
Ehangsaid erfyn.
Gochawn cyrdd ceinmyn
Yw *Gwarchan Cynfelyn;*
Gorchan Cynfelyn
Cylchwy wylad,
Edfyn ŵr gŵnedd,
Gwynedd ei wlàd . . .
Gwarchan Cynfelyn ar *Ododdin*,
Neus gorug o ddyn ddogn gymhwyllaid.
Ei wayw drŵn oreuraid a'm rhoddes,
Poed er lles i'w enaid.

The son of Tegfan is honoured
For his numerous gifts,
  The grandson of Cadfan, pillar of battle.
When weapons were hurled
Over the heads of the wolves of war
The two were swift in the day of combat.
Three men and three score and three hundred
Went to the land of Catraeth:
Of those who charged forward after the mead of the
    cup-bearers
  Save three, none returned:
Cynon and Cadraith and Cadlew of Cadnant,
And I from my blood-letting.
A true son of prophecy, they paid my ransom
Of pure gold and steel and silver;
Injury, and no advantage, did they receive.
The *Gorchan* of the hosts of warlike Cynfelyn.

Edmygir mab Tegfan
Wrth rif ac wrth ran,
  Ŵyr Cadfan colofn graid.
Pan fyriwyd arfau
Tros ben cad fleiddiau,
Buan ddau yn nydd rhaid.
Trywyr a thri ugaint a thrychant
I freithell Gatraeth ydd aethant;
O'r sawl yd grysiasant uch medd menestri
  Namyn tri nid atgorsant:
Cynon a Chadraith a Chadlew o Gadnant
A minnau o'm crau ddychiorant.
Mab coel certh, fy ngwerth i a wnaethant
O aur pur a dur ac ariant;
Einiwed, nid nodded, rygawsant.
Gwarchan cyrdd Cynfelyn cyfnofant.

NOTES

1. *Gododdin.* The title of the poem, cf. 10 where the name refers to the tribe or people. In this stanza, which is found in both A and B texts, a reciter claims the reward of the court for the task which he is about to perform, the recital of *Y Gododdin*. The B text is in its original place at the beginning of the poem, but that of A, which is much inferior, has been misplaced and is found in the middle. See further I. Williams, CA, 26, 230; K. Jackson, *God.*, 48, 99, 137. In *Ast. Hen.*, 65, T. M. Charles-Edwards makes a case for dating the Prologue 'earlier than the *Historia Brittonum* . . . [but] later than the fall of the kingdom of the Gododdin', i.e. very roughly between c. 640 and c. 830.

1. *gofynnaf.* The A text has *gomynaf*, and B *gomynnaf*. For the reading see CA 230.

1. *o'th blegyd.* A reads *dy blegyt*.

2. *Yng ngŵydd*, etc. A here has a totally different line, *tynoeu dra thrumein drum essyth* which I. Williams, CA 231, treats as obscure and corrupt, although Jackson, *God.*, 137, thinks that *Drum Esyd* was 'an unidentified place . . . close to Edinburgh'. The third line in A, which has nothing to correspond to it in B, reads *gwas chwant y aryant heb emwyt*, which I. Williams, loc. cit., also treats as corrupt, but see the Introduction, p. lxiii.

3. *a guarchan.* A, *o gussyl.* For *cusyl, cysul*, 'advice, counsel; doctrine; song of advice', see GPC 818. In meaning it was closely related to *gwarchan*, see GPC 1463, 'poem; counsel, teaching', Jackson, *God.*, 23-4, 99, translates *A gwarchan* as 'with the lay', rather than 'and the lay'.

3. *Mab Dwywai.* Clearly a reference to the author of the poem. A Dwywai is mentioned in early genealogies as the daughter of Lleynnog and mother of Deinioel the founder of Bangor, who died in 584, see CA 232; *Y Bywgraffiadur*, 9; *God.*, 24. If Aneirin was a younger brother of Deinioel he would have been a nephew of Gwallog son of Lleynnog, ruler of Elmet, who fought with Urien and other northern kings against the English, see J. Morris, *Nennius*, 38.

3. *dda.* A reads *dy*.

4. *gno . . . tyno.* Earlier forms were *gnou, tnou*, and *tynoeu* in A may be a reflection of the latter, cf. CA 235.

4. *treisyd.* I. Williams, CA 235, suggests that this could be either a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. or a 3rd. sing. imper. D. Simon Evans, however, in GMW 119, 129, gives *-yt* as a 3rd. sing. ind., but not imper., termination. The reciter is here expressing the hope that Aneirin's poem will vanquish all others in the bardic contest. This line is only found in B.

5-7. These three lines are only found in the A text.

5. *Nid oedd wan*, etc. Ms. *nyt oed gynghor wann.* In CA 232 I. Williams proposes the deletion of *gynghor* on the grounds that originally it was probably a gloss on *gussyl* in the previous line.

5. *feithin.* Lenited form of *meithin*, possibly a derivative of *maeth, maethu*, 'to feed, nourish', see CA 233.

6. *O lychwr i lychwr.* Lit. 'from daylight to daylight', see GPC 2251 and cf. CA 233.

8. *waned.* Ms. *want*, 'struck'. The emendation *wanet*, 'was struck', is proposed in CA 234. I. Williams also proposes an alternative reading, *Er pan want Heiden maws . . .*' Since Heiden struck the gentle one . . .' The Triads contain a reference to 'Heiden son of Efengad who slew Aneirin of Flowing Verse', see R. Bromwich, TYP 71. The A text of this line reads *llad gwaws. gwan maws mur trin*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 138, 'the slaying of the gentle one, the killing of the courteous one, the rampart of battle'.

9. *Er pan aeth*, etc. This line is only found in B.

10. *ysgarad.* Ms. *ysgaras.* The emendation, which provides a rhyme with *nâd*, is proposed in CA 235. The reciter is saying here that following the death of Aneirin poetry has ceased to flourish among the Gododdin. The A text of this line, however, reads *anysgarat vu y nat ac aneirin*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 138, 'Aneirin and his poetry were not to be parted'.

11. *oed gwas.* In Med. Welsh orthography *oed* would normally represent modern *oedd*, 'was', but *oed*, 'age' (with *-d* = *-d*) is a preferable reading here, cf. CA 61. For the line as an instance of the *puer senex* or *puer senilis* topos see BBCS xxi (1966), 303, and cf. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 98.

16. *main fuan.* Here *march* or *meirch*, 'horse(s)', must be understood with the adjectives.

17. *Cleddyfawr. -awr* was an old plural termination.

18. *Eddi.* Ms. *ethy*, possibly representing *edi* = *eddi*, see CA 64.

18. *affan.* Ms. *aphan.* The meaning of the word is not certain but the suggestion of CA 65 that it could signify 'of painstaking workmanship' is here adopted.

19. *Ni bi ef a fi.* An old form of negation in which *Ef a fi*, 'there will be', is negated by the preceding *Ni bi*, 'there will not be', see CA 65.

20. *Cas.* The couplet 19-20 contains an example of the litotes which was much favoured in early Welsh verse. By stating that there will be no enmity between him and Ywain the poet emphasizes their friendly relationship.

21. *Gwell gwneif.* The form *gwneif* is an old 1st. pers. sing. pres. ind., 'I do, shall do', Mod. Welsh *gwnaf*. According to T. Jones in BBCS xiv (1951), 216, the original couplet probably was *Â thi gwell gwneif/Ar wawd dy folif.* When the verb-noun *molif* became *moli* in Med. Welsh line 21 was deftly rearranged so as to rhyme *thi* with *foli*. See also CA lxiii, but cf. *Ast. Hen.*, 101, where some

scepticism is expressed by D. Ellis Evans about the proposed reconstruction of the text of the couplet.

23. *Cynt i waedlawr.* Ms. *kynt y waet y lawr.* The emendation *i waedlawr* is suggested in CA 66. GPC 1546 records *gwaedlawr*, '? battle-field', but gives no instances earlier than the 15th. cent. The Ms. reading suggests that the line was understood as meaning 'Sooner his blood flowed down . . .'

25. *Cynt i fwyd brain.* Ms. *kynt y vwyt y vrein.* The reading here adopted assumes that *bwyd brain*, 'ravens' feast', was used for the 'battle-field', cf. line 23 and see CA 67-8. The Ms. reading, however, suggests that this line was understood as translated by Jackson, *God.*, 115, 'He would sooner have been food for ravens than get due burial'.

27. *Ywain.* Ms. *ewein.* The name of the hero celebrated normally appears towards the end of each stanza. Note that here his name is separated from that of his father by two whole lines.

28. *fain.* Ms. *vrein.* The emendation is suggested by Jackson, *God.*, 115, who points out that '*vrein* has already occurred as rhyme-word three lines before'. Cf. also T. Price (Carnhuanawc) who in 1854 gave the translation 'beneath the stones' in his *Literary Remains*, I, 124. The phrase *a dan vein* occurs in CLIH 14, 22b.

31. *Caeog.* Usually translated 'wearing a diadem'. Here Jackson's argument, *God.*, 33-4, in favour of 'wearing a brooch' is accepted.

31. *cynhorog.* This adjective, from *cynnor*, usually refers to the front rank of an army in battle.

32. *medd a dalai.* The phrase *talu medd*, 'payment for mead', is used frequently for the fulfilment by the warrior of his agreement with his lord and patron, in whose hall he lived. See Jackson, *God.*, 36.

33. *rodawr.* A round shield. A shattered shield was evidence of a warrior's prowess. For the line cf. 836.

33. *yn.* An adverb meaning 'where, when', see GMW 71-2.

34. *nawdd.* Forms a half-rhyme with *rodawr* and *awr* in the previous line.

34. *maint dilynai.* Jackson here translates 'where he pursued', *God.*, 116, adopting H. Lewis's suggested emended reading *men it dilynei*, of which the Ms. reading *meint dilynei* is possibly a miscopy. See BBCS xiii (1950), 205.

35. *oni.* Ms. *eny* for *yny (hynȳ)* 'until', see GMW 244.

35. *waed.* In Med. Welsh verbs in the 3rd. pers. sing. imperfect are frequently followed by lenition of the subject noun, see GMW 18.

36. *gwŷr.* This form shows non-lenition of the object noun after a verb in the 3rd. sing. imperfect, contrast *waed* in line 35.

36. *ni dechai.* Ms. *nyt echei*, representing original *ny techei*, in which the *t-* could be read as *th-* or *d-*, see CA 72. The phrase could

be understood as an independent sentence, *Ni thechai*, 'he did not flee', cf. T. Gwynn Jones, *Y Cymmr.*, xxxii, 23, 'stubbornly he stood'; *Llên Cymru*, vi, 239; viii, 136. There is, however, a consensus of opinion in favour of treating *ni dechai* as a relative clause although, as T. J. Morgan points out in *Y Treigl.*, 355, it could be argued that Welsh idiom would require *ni dechent*, cf. *ni dechyn* in 775. For the lenition of the initial consonant of the verb in a negative relative clause in the early period see GMW 61; BBCS xiii, 189., A similar sentiment to that expressed in the text is found in Taliesin's couplet, 'And those that had not fled/Were braver than were wise', see Jarman and Hughes (eds.), GWL 1, 62. For further references see Jackson, *God.*, 116.

37. *Neus.* Ms. *nys.* The emendation is suggested in CA 72, 74. *Neu* is an affirmative particle and *-s* an infixed object pronoun referring to what the men of Gododdin relate.

37. *mordai.* Lit. 'great houses', i.e. the buildings of the court. The word can be understood as singular or plural.

38. *pebyll.* A sing. noun here for Mod. Welsh *pabell.* Cf. the place-name *Cilybebyll.*

39. *ni.* Ms. *eny.* The emendation is suggested in CA 74. The sense of the last two lines is somewhat obscure. I. Williams takes them as meaning that when Madog returned before his tent only one out of a hundred of his followers had survived the battle with him. Jackson, *God.*, 116, suggests that the one survivor out of a hundred was on the enemy side. The reference is probably not to the battle of Catraeth, but to Madog's established reputation as a warrior before the battle.

40. *Caeog.* Note the alliterative repetition of initial *C-* in this line in *Caeog, cynifiad* and *cywlad.* Cf. also *Caeog, cynhorog* in lines 31, 49 and 56.

40. *cywlad rwyd.* Ms. *kywlat e rwyt.* The literal meaning of *cywlad* was 'neighbouring territory, border', and from this the meanings 'neighbour' and 'enemy' were developed. *Rhwyd* is literally a 'net'.

40. The internal rhyme *cynifiad/cywlad* should be noted. The scheme is repeated throughout the stanza, *eryr/ebyr, amod/nod, gwnaeth/arfaeth, byddin/Ododdin, gymell/freithell, ellid/onid.* In lines 46 and 48 the rhyme is between initial syllables, *ysg*-edd/*ysg*-wyd, *Cad*-fannan/*cad*-wyd. Note also *Od*-oddin/*od*-echwyd in line 44.

43. *Gwell gwnaeth.* Ms. *gwell a wnaeth.* The oldest form of *gwnaeth* was probably *gwreith*, but *gwnaeth* occurs in Old Welsh orthography in CA 31.783 *guanaid.*

43. *ni giliwyd. Cilio* is here used in the transitive sense of 'to turn away', or possibly 'to put to flight'. The lenition indicates a relative clause.

44. *Ododdin odechwyd.* In CA lxxxi Ifor Williams points out that, while the lenition in *Ododdin* is regular after a feminine

noun, there is no syntactical reason for the lenition of the verb *godechwyd*. He then suggests that in its original form the line read thus (in Old Welsh orthography): *rac bedin guotodin guotecuit*. According to Jackson's datings in *Lang. & Hist.*, 391, however, the last two words would have taken the form *Wododdin wodechwyd* in the early period (up to c. 700). In the stanza in its medieval dress the form *odechwyd* was probably retained (or at least used) in order to maintain a correspondence with the initial syllable of *Ododdin*.

45. *Hydr gymell*. The phrase could also be understood parenthetically, 'under heavy pressure'.

45. *ar freithell Fanawyd*. *Ar*, 'opposite'. *Manawyd* is a personal name based on *Manaw* and occurs as a shorter form of *Manawydan*, a prominent character in the Mabinogi. *Manaw* was the name not only of the Isle of *Man* but also of a small territory near the head of the Firth of Forth, see Jackson, *God.*, 73. If this was the 'land of Manawyd' the battle described in the couplet was not Catraeth. For further references see CA 76.

46. *noddi*. An old form for the 3rd. pers. sing. imperf. *noddai*, 'gave protection'.

47. *ellid, onid*. Ms. *ny ellir anet ry vaethpwyt*. The emendation restores the internal rhyme in *-id*. It has also been suggested that the second half of the line could either be understood as a rhetorical question, 'has he not been well nurtured?', or read as *ar fedd ryfaethpwyd*, 'he was reared on mead', see CA 76.

48. *Cadfannan*. There is no etymological connection between this name and *Manawyd* in line 45. It is however conceivable that at some stage in the transmission of the text a reciter or copyist thought otherwise, and as a result introduced the reference to Manawyd, possibly from another stanza or, indeed, another poem. The meaning 'battle', first given for *breithell* in W. O. [-Pughe]'s Dictionary in 1793, is probably based on the supposition that the word is to be equated with *Cad-* in *Cadfannan*, cf. GPC 318.

50. *goddiwawdd*. Ms. *godiwawr*. The emendation is suggested in CA 78; *-awdd* and *-awr* were acceptable half-rhymes, cf. *rodawr, awr* and *nawdd* in lines 33-4. *Goddiwawdd* is an old 3rd. pers. sing. pret. of *goddiweddyd*, 'to overtake', but here 'to attain, gain'. *Torchawr*, 'one wearing a torque', and *gwefrawr*, 'amber beads', may respectively be taken as subject and object of the verb.

50. *torchawr am ran*. Lit. 'the torqued warrior for the sharing', i.e. generous, cf. 730, *Mynog am ran*.

51. *Gwefrfawr*. Ms. *gwevrawr*. The emendation is adopted by Jackson in *God.*, 117, but in CA 78 Ifor Williams suggests *Gwefrwr*. If *Gwefrfawr* is the correct reading cf. the Gaulish personal name *Vebrumaros*, see D. E. Evans, GPN 272. Gwefrfawr was possibly a chieftain possessing, or honourably adorned with, much amber.

51. *gwerth gwin o fan*. Ms. *gwerth gwin vann*. The phrase could be construed with the succeeding line, 'In return for wine from the cup he repelled the attack'. Note the alliterative use of *g(w)-* in lines 51-3.

52. *gwrŷs*. An unlenited object, cf. *gwŷr* in 36.

52. *odd is gran*. Ms. *dis grein*, which fails to sustain the rhyme. For the emendation see CA 80.

53. *Wynedd*. Lenition of the subject, cf. 35, *waed*.

53. *Gogledd ran*. Ms. *gogled e rann*. For various possible emendations see CA 80.

54. *mab Ysgyrran*. The hero celebrated was Gwefrfawr son of Ysgyrran. For the separation of the names of son and father cf. lines 27-30, Ywain son of Marro. It has on the other hand been suggested that the son of Ysgyrran was the chieftain of the Goddoddin, Mynyddog Mwynfawr, see CA 81. The statement, however, that the hero was capable of fighting the men of Gwynedd and the North indicates that here again the reference is not to the battle of Catraeth but to Gwefrfawr's ability as a warrior to repel all comers, cf. 39.

57. *Cyn no'i ddiwedd*. Ms. *kyn no diwe*. For the emendation see CA 81. Another possible reading would be *Cyn no'i ddiw*, 'Before his day', i.e. before the day he fell in battle.

57. *yng ngwriawr*. Ms. *eg gwyawr*. For the emendation see CA 81.

59. The line is repeated in 361.

60. *Deifr a Brynaich*. Ms. *deivyr a brennych*. Deira and Bernicia, respectively the territories (and inhabitants thereof) between the Humber and the Tyne or Tees, and between the latter and the Forth. In the sixth century these areas were in process of being occupied by the English.

60. *dychïawr*. 'Falls', 3rd. sing. pres. ind. Contrast the imperf. *cwyddai* in the previous line. These statements should be taken as hyperbolical tributes to Hyfaidd Hir's prowess and reputation as a warrior rather than as descriptions of his actions at Catraeth.

61. *yn nifant*. Ms. *eu diuant*, cf. CA 84.

61. *yn un awr*. 'In one hour', i.e. at the same time.

62. *Cynt i gig blaidd*, etc. Compare lines 23-6 in stanza 2, which are a variation on the same formula. The Ms. readings are *kynt y gic e vleid* and *kynt e vud e vran*, respectively, but *cig blaidd* and *budd brân*, 'wolf-feast' and 'raven's gain', are here adopted as meaning a battle, following Ifor Williams's reference to the hero 'going to battle, a feast for wolves and ravens', CA 84. Jackson, however, gives the translation: 'He would sooner be flesh for wolves than go to a wedding, he would sooner be prey for the raven than go to the altar', *God.*, 117.

65. *cyntedd*. The hall or upper part of the hall, where the king or chieftain sat, see PKM 131.

66. *Hyfaidd Hir*. Hyfaidd the Tall.

67. *Gwŷr a aeth*. This is the introductory phrase in each of the series of eleven stanzas which commences here. The first two instances are followed by *Ododdin*, 'to Gododdin', and the succeeding nine by *Gatraeth*, 'to Catraeth'. The reference in line 69 to the 'short year' which the warriors spent 'in peace' at Mynyddog's court suggests that in stanzas 7 and 8 the poet was thinking of the assembling of the war-band prior to the mead-feast. In the remaining nine he was thinking of the fateful battle itself. As has already been noted, stanzas 2-6 refer on the whole to the reputation for martial prowess already possessed by the warriors they name, but in stanzas 7-17 a stronger elegiac note is struck and our attention is drawn more specifically to the disaster of Catraeth.

Gwŷr a aeth is usually understood to mean 'Men (or 'warriors') went' rather than 'who went'. The translation 'warriors' has been adopted here in view of the martial overtones frequently carried by the word *gŵr, gwŷr*, cf. GPC 1694; I. Williams, LEWP 68. Note that in this line, as in 74, *Gododdin* means the territory inhabited by the tribe.

68. *lläin*. Probably derived from Ir. *laigen*, 'a lance' (CA 85), this word was disyllabic and rhymed with *trin* in the same line. Similar internal rhymes occur in five of the seven lines of the stanza.

69. *Byr flynedd*. The line could also be understood as meaning 'in a short year they are (i.e. will be) silent', cf. the reference to *tawelwch*, 'silence', in 81.

70. *gwnaeth gwyniaith gwraith*. Here *gwyniaith* is the object, and *gwraith* the subject, of *gwnaeth*. The form *gwyniaith*, from Lat. *vindicta*, generally carries the meaning 'vengeance', but 'slaughter' would also be appropriate here.

71. *Cyd elwynt lannau*. For the use of a lenited noun, without a preposition, to express the idea of 'motion towards' cf. *Ododdin* in 67. *Elwynt* is 3rd. plur. pres. subj., a vivid present, cf. 63, *dychïawr*. The sixth century was not only a 'heroic age' but also the 'Age of the Saints', a main feature of which was the widespread establishment of *llannau* by founder-saints. In *Ysg. Beirn. X*, 42, however, D. Simon Evans argues that lines 71-3 are a later addition to *Y Gododdin*, on the grounds that the Christian sentiments which they contain are inconsistent with the primitive heroic ethos of the poem. He further suggests that line 72 is a gloss inserted between 71 and 73, for the war-band did not include old men or weaklings.

73. *Dadl ddiau angau*. This phrase has been interpreted both as a parenthesis ('true is the tale') and as the equivalent of the Ir. *dál éco*, 'meeting with death'. For discussions see CA 87; *God.*, 118; LEWP 76; BBCS xiii (1950), 189.

75. *trin ddiachar*. A compound adjective, 'savage in respect of the battle'.

76. *wy lleddynt*. Ms. *wy lledi*. The emended reading is suggested in CA 87-8. In Mod. Welsh the word order would be reversed, *lladdent hwy*. In *Ast. Hen.*, 77, however, D. Simon Evans favours the Ms. reading *wy lledi*.

77. *Rheithfyw*. Probably a proper name but could be an adjective (*rhaith* 'law', *byw* 'alive, living'). It will be noted that the three previous lines refer to warriors in the plural. The text is no doubt incomplete or defective.

77. *rhoddi arwar*. Probably a compound adjective, 'delighting in giving', i.e. 'generous', see CA 88, but *rhoddi* could also be a 3rd. sing. imperf. ind. verb, 'he gave'.

78. *Gatraeth*. 'To Catraeth', cf. *Ododdin* in lines 68 and 74. Nine stanzas commence with the formula *Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth*. It has been argued that in early Welsh the normal construction would have been *Gwŷr aethant*, with a plural noun followed by a plural verb. This would upset the line metrically and the contrary view has also been maintained, namely that a plural noun followed by a singular verb was permissible from the earliest times and reflected the practice of the spoken language. See D. Simon Evans, *St. Celt.*, vi (1971), 42-51; K. Jackson, ibid., viii/ix (1973/4), 2. Jackson also suggests that *Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth* could be understood as a relative construction, 'The men who went to Catraeth, their host was swift', ibid., 3. Cf. the note on 67.

79. *gwenwyn*. The bitterness, of course, was in the mead's associations. Jackson, *God.*, 118, translates 'poison'. GPC 1639 gives this instance of *gwenwyn* as a noun, 'bitterness'. Cf. the meanings 'cruel, cruelly' in 350 and 964, and see CA 113.

82. *Cyd elwynt*, etc. Lines 82-3 repeat the formula of lines 71 and 73, but with the omission of 72, cf. note above.

84. *feddwn*. The meaning 'host' for *meddwn* is suggested in CA 90. Jackson, *God.* 119, does not translate.

87. *ymleddyn*. Ms. *emledyn*. The *-t* of the termination of third pers. plural verbs is frequently omitted in the Book of Aneirin. *Dengyn(n)* and *ymleddynt*, however, would have been an acceptable rhyme, cf. *Y Cymmr.* xxviii, 208; YMTh 53.

87. *aergwn*. 'War-hounds', i.e. warriors.

88. *Ar deulu*. Lit. 'on the bodyguard'. In CA 92. I. Williams suggests the possibility of reading *ar arddelw* in the sense of 'possessed by', cf. GPC 186.

88. *baich barnaswn*. A parenthesis: 'the thought of leaving any of the enemy alive would have been a burden to contemplate'.

89. *Eiliw*. Ms. *dilyw*. The emendation is suggested in CA 92.

90. *Cyfaill a gollais*. Possibly 'The friend I have lost, to whom I was faithful . . .'

91. *rhyn ryadwn*. Jackson, *God.*, 119, translates 'rugged, ever

foremost', adopting a suggestion in CA 93 that *adwn* could be an adjective.

92. *Ni mynnws*, etc. Cf. lines 23-4 and 62 which state that the hero preferred the battle-field to a wedding; also 32, *Diffun ymlaen bun*, etc.

92. It may be noted that in *Bardos*, 18, R. Geraint Gruffydd treats *gwrawl* as a proper name, '(G)wrol ap Cian'.

93. *Maban i Gian*. The 'young son of Cian from beyond Bannog' is named as Llif in line 262 (cf. Llifiau in 254). Maen Gwyngwn is unknown but if it was beyond the Bannog it must have been in Pictland, see Jackson, *God.*, 119.

95. *hedd*. 'Dwelling' as in *an-hedd*, *annedd*. As they left for battle with the dawn the warriors' fears departed from their minds. This is expressed by saying that their fears 'moved' (*trafodynt*) their dwelling-place. The construction is verb, object, subject.

96. *ymdaflawdd*. Ms. *emdaflawr*. The emendation is suggested in CA 95. The half-rhyme *-awdd, -awr* was commonly used, cf. *awr* and *nawdd* in lines 33-4. The prefix *ym-* is reciprocal in meaning here, and the exaggerated numbers ascribed to the enemy are intended to emphasize the courage of the Gododdin.

97. *gwynoddyd*. Ms. *gwynnodynt*. In CA 95 the reading *gwynnodyt gwaewawr* is suggested in order to provide a rhyme and augment the alliteration.

98. *gorsaf wriaf*. Ms. *gorsaf yng gwryaf*. The literal meaning is probably 'the most valiant in respect of position', cf. CA 95-6, or possibly 'He was the most valiant bulwark', reading *Ef gorsaf gwriaf*, see GPC 1494. Note the celebration of a single hero in lines 97-9, after the references to warriors in the plural in 94-6, cf. also line 90.

101. *Dygymyrrws*. In CA 97 the reading *Cymyrrws* is suggested 'to improve the metre'. For the word order (verb, object, subject) in this line cf. 95.

102. *yfynt*. Ms. *evynt*. *Yfynt* and *melyn* would not, of course, have constituted a rhyme but in saga poetry and the work of the later Cynfeirdd *-yn'/-yn* and *-an'/-an* occur as rhymes, see YMTh 51-3; CLIH 78-9. The last three words of the line contain both alliteration and internal rhyme of initial syllables.

102-3. *na phurawr eu lläin*. In *Ast. Hen.*, 75 D. Simon Evans classifies *purawr* as an early impersonal or passive formation while I. Williams in CA 98 describes it as 'a command'. In the Ms. the last four words of line 105 read *gwyngalch a phedryollt bennawr*. As emended (see CA 99) they can carry the meaning given in the translation, but the text is probably defective here. *Calch* possibly meant a 'chalked shield', cf. Ir. *cailc*, and *pedryollt* could literally be translated 'four-cleft', but I. Williams has suggested that it may here refer to a 'solid four-sided spearhead like an elongated square pyramid', cf. BBCS vi (1933), 313. Jackson, ibid.,

314, has compared the Anglo-Saxon angon, 'a spear actually in use in England in the pagan Anglo-Saxon period and doubtless known to the Welsh'. Square-pointed and barbed, 'it was thrown at the enemy's shield so as to make it useless with the encumbrance of its weight, the barbs preventing it from being pulled out and the long iron shaft making it impossible to cut it off near the head'. See also GDG 460.

107. *Gŵr*. Ms. *Gwyr*. The emendation is required by the singular verb *goreu* in line 108.

108. *Neus goreu*. In *neus* the affirmative particle *neu* is combined with an infixed object pronoun *-s*, 'it', referring to *gywilydd*, an example of a proleptic or anticipatory use of the pronoun, see GMW 56. *Goreu*, 'made', is an old preterite form which rhymed with *gadau*, formerly *gadeu*.

109. *wygwnaethant*. The plural verb contrasts with the singular forms *aeth* and *goreu* in the other lines of the stanza. Lines 109-10 may be an interpolation.

110. *annawdd*. 'Cruelty, mercilessness', the contrary of *nawdd*, 'quarter, mercy', cf. line 34. *Annawdd* forms a half-rhyme with *llafnawr*.

110. *ym medydd*. *Bedydd*, 'baptism', was also used for 'Christendom; the world'.

111. *Goreu hwn*. Ms. *goreu yw hwnn*. The deletion of *yw* is suggested in CA 100. *Goreu* is the pret., 'made', but a copyist probably mistook it for the adjective 'best', and added *yw*, 'is'.

113. *pan fuddydd*. The meaning of *buddydd* (Ms. *vudyd*) is unclear and the translation conjectural, see CA 100; GPC 346.

114. *dewr*. Ms. *deu*. The emendation is suggested in CA 101.

114. *Neirthiad*. Probably a proper name here although the word occurs as a common noun, 'strengthener, supporter'.

114. *gwychydd*. *Gwychyr*, 'brave, fierce', would be a possible reading, with the half-rhyme *-ydd, -yr*. In this line we have again the word order verb, object (*pwylliad*), subject (*Neirthiad*), cf. 95, 101. Jackson, *God.*, 120, interprets it as meaning that Neirthiad 'planned some brave tactical move'.

114. It will be noted that each line of this stanza contains internal rhyme (*gwnaethant, geugant*, etc.), and in five there is alliteration (*g-, g-, g-; c-, c-, c-; ll-, ll-.*). A dubious feature, however, is the occurrence of the same verbal form, *goreu*, three times with the same meaning.

116. *Neu*. Ms. *ne*. CA 101 suggests two alternative emendations, either the intensive particle *neu*, or the pre-verbal particle *re* (for *ry*).

116. *feinoethydd*. The lenited plural of *meinoeth*, lit. 'midnight'. The lenition indicates an adverbial use.

117. *gyfatgan gyfluydd*. This phrase, and also *ordrachwres drenghidydd* in the succeeding line, are early instances of the use of parenthesis (*sangiad*), which later developed into a marked feature

of *cywydd*-poetry. The lenition of *gyfluydd* may be explained by giving it an adjectival meaning, 'pertaining to an army', cf. GPC 701; or possibly the original phrase was unlenited, *cyfatgan cyfluydd*.

120. *Mawr.* An adjective used as a noun.

121. *odd uch medd.* Ms. *uch arwyt.* The emendation is suggested in CA 103. *Medd* would form a *proest*-rhyme with *oswydd* in line 124. Jackson *God.*, 120, does not translate.

125. *Tudfwlch Hir.* T. the Tall, cf. 66, *Hyfaidd Hir.* Tudfwlch, who is celebrated in *Gorchan Tudfwlch*, was probably from Eifionydd in Gwynedd, see CA lviii; *God.*, 27-8. Lines 122-4, which assert his superiority over all other defenders of the fortress of Eidyn, do not necessarily imply that he was one of them. Tudfwlch's 'land and homesteads', from which he ceaselessly drove out the English, would not have been at Catraeth: the statement cannot, however, be applied literally to Eifionydd, where the English were not in evidence in the sixth century.

126. *seithfed dydd.* 'Every seventh day', i.e. 'regularly'.

127. *yn wrfydd.* The meaning of *gwrfydd* (?) is not certain, cf. GPC 1708; G 708, but the two lines 127-8 are clearly stating that the memory of Tudfwlch's valour will be long-lasting. The achievement of posthumous fame by the fallen warrior is one of the fundamental themes of the poem, cf. line 66.

129. *Pan ddyfu Dudfwlch.* Lit. 'when T. came'. The juxtaposition of *Dudfwlch*, 'breach of the people', and *dud nerthydd*, 'strengthener of the people', is a rhetorical play on words comparable to *Cadafael Cadomedd*, 'Battle-seizer, Battle-decliner', the sobriquet of a seventh-century king of Gwynedd, cf. J. Morris, *Nennius*, 80; Lloyd, HW i, 191; see p. lxxiv.

130. *fab Cilydd.* For the separation of the names of son and father cf. stanzas 2 and 5.

132. *Yn ei fuddyn.* Ms. *wyneb udyn.* The emendation proposed in CA 105 has been generally adopted. *Buddyn*, lit. 'cattle-enclosure', could also probably be used for 'land' or 'homestead'. I have taken the line to be a reference to the warrior's reputation as a defender of his own home and territory, cf. lines 125-6 which describe Tudfwlch expelling the English from 'his land and homesteads'. Jackson, however, *God.*, 30, translates thus: 'in his battle-square (? lit. perhaps "cattle-pen") he was a fence of shields', adding by way of explanation that 'when his men drew themselves up in a square he alone was as good as a whole rank forming a shield-wall'.

133. The verbs in this line are plural, contrasting with the singular verbs in the rest of the stanza, cf. line 109. The couplet 133-4 may be an interpolation.

134. *twrf aesawr.* In CA 106 I. Williams suggests that the reference is not only to the din of battle but to the warriors' practice of striking their shields in order to instil fear into the enemy.

137. *lledd.* The meaning, suggested in CA 108, is uncertain and Jackson, *God.*, 121, does not translate.

138. *heyrn dur.* Contrary to the translation given, I. Williams in CA 109 describes *heyrn dur* as the object of *lladdai*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 121, 'in [battle-]straits he struck with blades, steel weapons on the heads [of men]'. In GPC 1801 *heyrn* in this line is translated as 'iron armour, coat of mail'.

139. *adleddawr.* The meaning 'slayer' is conjectural, see CA 109.

140. *Erthgi.* Lit. 'Bear-dog'.

140. *erthychi.* Ms. *erthychei.* The older 3rd. pers. sing. imperf. *erthychi* [cf. 46, *noddi*], suggested as an emendation in CA 110, would rhyme with *Erthgi*.

140. *fyddinawr.* Lenition of the subject was common in Med. Welsh after verbs in the 3rd. pers. sing. imperf., cf. *Dudfwlch* in 129 and see GMW 18.

141. A case could be made for the view that stanza 16 has been constructed out of the debris of two or three other stanzas. The word *hir* is used four times as an end-rhyme. The first four lines refer to *Maon*, 'hosts', apparently the subject of the verbs *dychiorant* and *amygyn*, and only in lines 146-7 do we find a reference by name to the two heroes, Tudfwlch and Cyfwlch. The two were apparently men of Gwynedd but the stanza opens with a reference to the northern 'sons of Godebog'. In the final couplet the poet ruminates in the first person plural [unless we read *yfem* as *yfent*, 'they drank', referring to the two heroes].

141. *pan.* Here used in a relative sense, 'that', see GMW 79.

142. *Maon dychiorant.* Here a plural noun is followed immediately by a plural verb, cf. GMW 180-1. Contrast *ymleddyn aergwn* in line 87, where the order is reversed. *Dychiorant* is the plural of *dychïawr*, cf. 60, but see note on 1116.

144. *meibion Godebog.* The reference has been understood as a hint of strife between the Gododdin and the 'sons' or 'descendants' of [Coel] Godebog, among whom were included prominent figures in south-western Scotland such as Urien Rheged, Llywarch Hen, Dunod and Gwenddolau, cf. CA 111; *God.*, 121. On the other hand in *Ast. Hen.*, 157, R. Bromwich has argued that the couplet means that the 'sons of Godebog' lent their support to the Gododdin in the battle of Catraeth. She proposes the deletion of *Â* in line 144, thus making *meibion Godebog* the subject of *amygyn*, and suggests that *enwir* can here be understood as meaning 'faithful' rather than 'wicked, evil, unjust, impious', etc., as proposed in GPC 1223. Thus, 'the sons of Godebog fought for their land, the faithful host'.

145. *Dyfforthynt*, etc. The construction is probably verb, object, subject, cf. 95, 101.

146. *tru o.* Ms. *tru a.* The preposition *a* is frequently used for *o* in Med. Welsh, see GMW 37.

147. *dyngwyd*. Ms. *dyngwt*, cf. WG 113. The belief that the warriors' fate had been allotted to them is frequently expressed in the early poetry, cf. CLIH lxvi.

147. *Cyfwlch Hir*. Cyfwlch the Tall, cf. *Hyfaidd Hir* (99), *Tudfwlch Hir* (125).

148. *leu babir*. *Leu*, lenited from *lleu*, is adjectival, 'light, lighted', and describes *babir*, lenited from *pabir*, 'wick, candle, lamp', see CA 113.

149. *Cyd fai*. The lenition of *bai* after *cyd*, 'although', is exceptional, cf. T. J. Morgan, *Y Treigl.*, 381. The bitterness associated with the mead refers to the consequences of the warriors' commitment to Mynyddog's cause. Cf. *gwenwyn* in line 79.

150. *Blaen*. Probably a personal name, although it can also be understood as meaning 'first, foremost'. It occurs at the commencement of each of six lines in the stanza and in some of these a play on the meaning may be intended. In each case Clancy, EWP 37, translates 'First'.

150. *ech Eidyn*. Ms. *echeching*. The emendation is suggested in CA 114 where Ifor Williams, however, also proposes 'generous' or 'broad, spacious' as possible meanings for *echeching*. Jackson, *God.*, 122, translates 'spacious (?)'. Against the reading *Eidyn* it may be objected that Mynyddog, rather than Blaen, was the lord of the fort of Eidyn.

150. *ewygai*. Ms. *ewgei*. The emendation was proposed by Henry Lewis in BBCS xiii (1948), 23.

151. *Gwŷr gweirydd gwanar*. Cf. 74, *chwerthin wanar*, 'with eager laughter'. *Gwanar* also occurs meaning 'war, battle', thus *gwŷr gwanar*, 'warriors'. A possible alternative reading for *gweirydd* would be *gweinydd*, 'serving, attendant', see CA 115.

152. *dywallofai*. Ms. *dygollouit*. The emendation is required by the rhyme, cf. CA 115.

154. *a'i dybyddai*. Ms. *ef dybydei*. The emendation is suggested in CA 116. The line could also be understood as asserting that the 'first drink of bragget' was brought to him, cf. Clancy, loc cit., 'The first brewing of bragget was his'.

155. *cainasmygai*. In this word the infixed object pronoun *(a)s*, 'it' or 'them', has been placed between the two component elements of the verb *ceinmygu*, 'to admire, delight in'. The pronoun refers back to *aur a phorffor*, 'gold and purple (clothing)'.

156. *gwaredai*. Earlier *gwo-redei*, 'ran under'. From this early literal meaning *gwared*, 'to save, succour', developed. Cf. Lat. *succurro*, 'succour', from *sub-curro*. See CA 117; GPC 1582.

157. *Wrth lef agerw*. Ms. *gwrthlef ac euo*. The emendation is proposed in CA 117. Jackson, *God.*, 122, translates 'obeying his harsh voice'. *Agerw* occurs both as a noun, 'battle', and an adjective, 'bitter, cruel', see GPC 47. It is also found as a personal name which might fit here if we gave *Blaen* in each instance the meaning 'first, foremost; best'.

158. *arwyre*. Ms. *erwyre*, lit. 'raises'; or possibly a noun, 'one who raises', cf. CA 118; GPC 218.

159. *arth yn llwrw*. Jackson, *God.*, 122, translates 'a bear in the pathway', but *llwrw*, 'path', is also used figuratively for 'manner', etc., see CA 118, 120.

159. *byth hwyr*. In CA 118 I. Williams suggests reading *bit*, presumably in the sense of '(it) is, is by nature'. He also suggests the possibility of reading *arth yn llwrw bedin* (= *byddin*), i.e. 'a bear in the path of an army'. *Hwyr*, 'slow, reluctant', is probably intended as a contrast to *Blaen* in the preceding lines of the stanza.

160. *gynhorfan*. The reason for the lenition of *cynhorfan* is not clear, cf. CA 119.

161. *ar wyran*. Ms. *arwyran*. Ifor Williams argues in CA 119 that the emendation is preferable to G's suggestion (p. 44) that *arwyran* is a form based on *arwyrein*, 'to rise, raise', etc. Jackson, *God.*, 122, translates 'like a fierce sun', probably adopting the explanation of *arwyran* as *ar* + *gwyran*, 'gwrol, grymus, bywiog', given in GPC 218. GPC, however, does not support this in the entries on *gwyran* on p. 1781.

162. *cwdd gyngain*. Ms. *gwd gyfgein*. The emendation is suggested in CA 119.

163. *Nef Ynys Brydain*. The court of Eidyn, according to CA 119, where two translations are suggested for the couplet: either (1) 'Where is the lord of the heaven of Britain to be found?', or (2) 'Lord, where is the heaven of Britain to be found?'. Jackson, *God.*, 122, translates, 'Where is the prince to be found, the lord of the island of Britain?', apparently taking *nef* to be an error for *naf*, 'lord'.

164. *Garw rhyd*, etc. In CA 120 I. Williams suggests that the line is 'a kind of proverb' meaning 'The ford is rough on account of the rush of the brave over it', but Jackson, *God.*, 122, describes this as 'pointless'.

165. *Aes . . . buddyn*. Compare line 132, and the note thereon.

168. *rhyodres*. Mod. *rhodres*. A line with an end-rhyme in *-es* may be missing from the text, cf. CA 121.

171. *fedel*. Here *medel*, 'reaper' or a 'company of reapers' is used in the sense of 'cutting down' the enemy.

173. *Aerfaidd*. Ms. *a erueid*. The emendation is suggested in CA 121.

174. *Aer gennin*. The battle-leeks were undoubtedly warriors, a metaphor suggested by the strong roots and sturdy upright character of the leek-plant. Note the repetition of *fedel* as an end-rhyme in this line (cf. 171).

176. *gywydd*. Before acquiring its present specialized meaning in the fourteenth century, *cywydd* was used for a 'song'.

177. *seirchiog*. Would need to be pronounced *seirchïog* in order to give a line of four syllables.

178. *edenog*. Could also be read *edeinog*, cf. CA 122.

179. *Nid oedd*, etc. A shattered shield, or one worn thin with the fighting, was evidence of bravery, cf. lines 33, 55.

180. *plymnwyd*. This word rhymes with itself in lines 180 and 182, cf. *fedel* in 171 and 174.

181. *Cwyddyn gyfoedion*. In this line *gyfoedion* is the subject of the verb *cwyddyn(t)*. The lenition of the subject (*cyfoedion*) and the use of a plural verb with a plural subject should be noted. There is no rhyme with *gyfoedion*.

183. *Diesig*. Possibly *dias* + *ig*; it could also be for *di* + *ysig*, with a not dissimilar meaning, see GPC 1067.

184. *as talas*. *(a)s* is the infixed object pronoun, see the note on *cainasmygai*, 155; *talas*, lit. 'paid'.

185. *Huddid*. The form is an old impers. pret. in *-id (-it)* rather than an impers. imperf., see CA 123; GMW 126. The mod. termination would be *-wyd*.

187. *Gwrwelling fras*. Ms. *gwruelling vreisc*. The reading *Gwrwelling* is based on Ifor Williams's opinion, supported by G 721, that the second element in the name is *gwelling*, see CA 124; BBCS iii (1927), 270, although in the list of proper names and words on page 410 of CA it is apparently given as *Gwrfelling*. The emendation *vras* for *vreisc* is suggested in CA 124.

188. *Teithi*. Jackson, *God.*, 123, translates 'lawful entitlements', explaining that 'it is a legal term for the honourable characteristics the possession of which entitled a person or thing to its full status in law or qualified it to hold that status; not quite "rights" or "privileges".' He adds that 'the line seems to imply that the three heroes were upholders of the established socio-legal system'. Cf. D. Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda*, 384.

192. *Tri chadfarchog*. Ms. *tri si chatvarchawc*. I. Williams, CA 125, suggests that *si* is a scribal error which the copyist neglected to delete. Jackson, loc. cit., leaves a gap in his translation.

193. *euruchog*. Possibly from *eurych*, 'a goldsmith', cf. CA 125; GPC 1261. The latter does not record the adjectival form.

195. *Tri aur deyrn dorchog*. An example of *trychiad*, or tmesis, for *tri theyrn eurdorchog*, see CD 83.

198. *Tri chyfnaid cyfnar*. Ms. *tri chysneit kysnar*. The emendation is suggested in CA 126. *Casnar*, 'fierce', is also a possible reading, cf. GPC 437.

201. *Llew lleddynt blwm*. I. Williams, CA 126, suggests that *Llew* could mean 'like a lion', or should be read as *Tri llew*, or that *Llew* is a derivative of Lat. *levis*, 'light, easy'. In view of line 676, *Oedd llew y lladdewch chwi ddynin*, the third suggestion seems the most probable, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 123, 'they slew . . . easily'. Jackson does not translate *plwm*, lit. 'lead', but possibly here meaning 'enemy'.

202. *Aur*. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 123, 'like gold . . .' I. Williams, CA 127, suggests another possible meaning, i.e. that by demanding ransom for prisoners the defeated enemy could be converted into a source of 'gold' for the victors.

207. *Gogyferchi*. An old form of the 3rd. pers. sing. imperf., cf. 46, *noddi*; 140, *erthychi*.

207. *ynnon*. Lenited form of the subject *gynnon*, 'tribes', cf. 140, *fyddinawr*; 181, *gyfoedion*.

210. *Ŵr well*. The lenition in *well* is derived from the original form of the construction, *Ŵr a fai well*, cf. CA 127.

211. *seri*. For the meaning 'path' see BBCS xi (1944), 149.

212. *Yfais i*. This line is repeated at the beginning of the next stanza. The opening verb in the 1st. person does not accord with the pronouns and verbs in the 3rd. person throughout the rest of stanza 20, although the last word *mordai* fits in with the rhyme-scheme. Cf. the note on 231.

215. *erysmygai*. 3rd. pers. sing. imperf. of *ermygu*, 'to make', with the infixed object pronoun *(y)s*, 'it', inserted between the component elements of the verb, cf. 155, *cainasmygai*. The infixed pronoun refers back to *bwyd i eryr*.

216. *Gydywal*. Lenition of the subject; similarly *awr* in the same line, from *gawr*, 'a battle-cry'.

216. *dwyreai*. Ms. *kyfdwyreei*. For the emendation see CA 130.

217. *cyfi doddai*. Ms. *kyui dodei*. The meaning assigned to *cyfi*, 'wherever', is conjectural, see CA 130. *Dodei* could be read as *dodai*, 'gave, uttered', referring to the battle-cry, or as *doddai*, 'came'. The latter has been preferred. Jackson, *God.*, 124, translates 'went'.

218. *adawai*. Ms. *a adawei*.

219. *rhwygiad*. Taken here as a noun, following CA 131. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 124, 'slashing at them'.

222. *Mab Sywno*. i.e. Cydywal. Cf. the references to *mab Marro* (30), *mab Ysgyrran* (64), *maban i Gian* (93), *fab Cilydd* (130). Note the repetition of *syw*, 'wise', in *Syw-no* and *syw-iedydd*.

224. *Er wyneb grybwylliaid*. Cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards's discussion of this line in *Ast. Hen.*, 60, where he gives the literal translation 'in exchange for the bringing to mind of his face', and adds that *crybwyll(iaid)* 'normally refers to speech (*mentionem facere*, Davies), so that in this phrase we have both a play upon the legal term *wynebwerth* "face-value, honour", and a combination of the two concepts of honour as something seen and something frequently mentioned'. Lines 222-4 are a categorical statement of the heroic ideal of the warriors of the Gododdin, i.e. of their readiness to sacrifice their lives so that their fidelity to the demands of honour might be applauded.

226. *Lleddesid*. An old 3rd. sing. preterite, 'he slew', to be distinguished from the pluperfect impers. *lladdesid*, 'had been slain', see GMW 123, 127.

226. *ac Athrwys ac Affrai*. This use of *ac* . . . *ac* corresponds to the Lat. *et* . . . *et*, 'both . . . and'. Athrwys and Affrai are pre-

sumably the names of persons unknown. The form *Athrwys* occurs as *Atroys* in Old Welsh genealogies, see CA 132; EWGT 171. The name Affrai does not occur elsewhere.

227. *amod.* The warrior's *amod* was his 'solemn contract' with his chieftain to fight until honour was satisfied, see Charles-Edwards, op. cit., 46, 60.

228. *Ermygai.* Cf. 215, *er-ys-mygai.*

229. *wŷr . . . gŵnedd.* Lit. 'men . . . of battle'. As is pointed out in G 694 and *Ast. Hen.*, 107, the alliteration requires *gŵnedd* to be read *'gwŵnedd'.*

230. *Gwynedd.* As in line 53 the name here means the 'men of Gwynedd'. Cydywal is depicted as leader, or at least one of the leaders, of the party from North Wales which attached itself to Mynyddog's army, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 27.

231-9. Stanza 21 is found in both the A and B versions and the text as given is based on a conflation of the two.

231. *Yfaist ti.* Ms. *Eveis y.* Cf. line 212, which is here repeated. However, as *mordai* does not rhyme with any of the remaining eight lines of 21, it may be doubted whether the line is in place here. As the general context of the stanza requires verbs in the 2nd. pers. sing. Jackson, *God.*, 124, has suggested reading *yfaist* and *disgynnaist* in lines 231 and 232. He also suggests that this emendation should probably be made in stanza 20.

232. *Can yfaist, disgynnaist.* Ms. *can yueis disgynneis,* see above. The line refers to the obligation of the warrior to attack, having enjoyed the chieftain's hospitality.

233. *Nid didrachywedd.* Lit. 'not un-destructive', i.e. 'very destructive', an example of litotes. Welsh diction has a predilection for expressing a strong affirmative by negating the contrary.

233. *colwedd ddrud.* This could also be understood as *colwedd drud,* 'the heart of a hero'.

234. Before this line the B text reads *Kein guodeo e celyo ery vyhyr ohanav ar a fysgut as eiryangut,* which Ifor Williams has reconstructed metrically in CA 9. The text is probably corrupt and a translation is not attempted here. The first four words could mean a 'fine nurture (or luxury) for a bird or beast', cf. 215, 'He made food for eagles', and see CA 134. Jackson, *God.*, 102, does not translate.

234. *esgynnai.* The A text has *disgynnei,* an obvious error. *Esgyn* is here used as the opposite of *disgyn,* common in the old poetry for 'to attack'.

234. *ddisgynnud.* It is uncertain whether this should be lenited, cf. T. J. Morgan, *Y Treigl.*, 371.

235-7. These three lines occur only in the B text.

236. *Tair blynedd a phedair.* The meaning is probably 'three or four years' rather than three with another four added to them.

236. *meddud.* Ms. *tutet.* The emendation is suggested in CA 135.

237. *Yn fawr.* Ms. *en vavr.* I. Williams, CA 135, suggests *enfawr* as a better reading.

237. *as cymyrrud.* Ms. *asgym myrr hut.*

238. For this line the A text has *ys deupo gwaeanat gwerth na phechut,* 'may there come joy [to thee] because thou didst not sin'. Here *gwaeanat* has been substituted for the archaic *gwas nym,* 'abode of heaven' (*nym* = *nyf,* gen. of *nef*), and the emendation of *thechut* to *phechut* probably represents the rejection by a clerical copyist of the concept of entry into heaven as a reward for prowess in battle. For other medieval examples of this belief, however, see the references given on p. xciii.

239. *Present gyfadrawdd.* The satisfaction of being the 'talk of the world' on account of his prowess, whatever the cost, is to be equated with Cydywal's readiness to sacrifice his life 'for the mention of honour' in line 224, cf. Charles-Edwards's discussion of *(cyf)adrawdd* as the 'principal word used for fame as something spread by word of mouth', *Ast. Hen.*, 59.

240. This stanza forms a chain with stanzas 9-15, but apparently is misplaced. Certain features of it, however, such as the estimate of the number of those who went to Catraeth as 363 rather than 300 (ct. *trychant* in lines 90 and 96), suggests that it is later than the original nucleus of the chain. M. E. Owen, *Ast. Hen.*, 136, describes it as an 'incremental composition', and Jackson, *God.*, 26, argues that the numerical scheme contained in it 'has every appearance of being a late and secondary elaboration of the kind beloved of antiquarians—"three *ones,* and three *score,* and three *hundred*"— and therefore an interpolation at some later date'. It may be noted, however, that the rhymes *-awg, -awd* in lines 240-3 are characteristic of the early period (i.e. before *c.* 1100, see LIDC xlviii; CA lxxiv).

244. *O'r sawl.* The presence of the definite article precludes a very early date, cf. CA lxviii.

244. *gormant.* Other possible meanings are 'superfluity; excessive, splendid', see GPC 1491; CA 137; Jackson, *God.*, 125, 'choice drink'.

245. *o wrhydri.* The preposition *o* can mean 'through, by means of', as well as 'of, from'.

245-6. *tri . . . Dau gatgi Aeron a Chynon.* The notion that three warriors escaped from Catraeth is late and reflects the numerical scheme of line 243. The 'two battle-hounds of Aeron' are presumably Cynri and Cynrain, mentioned in lines 205-6 of stanza 19, with which 22 must therefore be linked.

246. *daerawd.* The meaning is uncertain, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 125, 'Cynon the stubborn (?)'. R. Bromwich, *Ast. Hen.*, 160, does not translate. See CA 137; G 287.

247. *A minnau,* etc. The tradition that Aneirin was wounded at the battle of Catraeth and survived, or was spared on account of

his 'fair song', possibly indicates the existence at one time of an 'incipient legend' concerning the poet, which however did not develop, cf. M. E. Owen in *Ast. Hen.*, 136, 150.

248. *yng ngwirwar.* Jackson, *God.*, 125, translates 'my very gentle one (?)', and Clancy, EWP 40, 'my comrade', reading *yng* as *fy(ng)*, cf. CA 138. I. Williams suggests the translation here adopted.

248. *ni'n gogyffrawd.* The translation is very conjectural, see the inconclusive discussion in CA 138.

249. *Oni bai.* Ms. *o neb ony bei.* The deletion of *o neb* is suggested in CA 139.

249. *durawd.* Ms. *ducawt.* The emendation is suggested in CA 139. The 'harsh ruler' is presumably Mynyddog Mwynfawr.

253. *Nis.* Ms. *neus.* The emendation is suggested in CA 140. Ct. the emendation of *nys* to *neus* in 37.

253. *gwedi ffosawd.* Jackson, *God.*, 125, translates 'after the swordstroke', asserting that this 'must mean *in* battle, not after the battle was over, since to be harsh in that case would be inconsistent with the heroic ethos'.

257. *gloyw.* Here we have non-lenition of the object, cf. *can* in the next line.

257. *i wychiawg.* Ms. *y gwychiauc.* Jackson translates 'the bold one', *God.*, 103, apparently understanding *y* as the def. art., cf. Clancy, EWP 40, 'fair hero'. The article, however, is rare in early poetry and I. Williams does not refer to this line in his discussion of the subject in CA lxviii.

258. *Ardwyai*, etc. The construction is verb, object, subject, cf. 95, 101, 145.

260. *Un maban*, etc. Cf. 93, *Maban i Gian o Faen Gwyngwn.* As has already been stated, Maen Gwyngwn is unknown, but Jackson, *God.*, 6, identifies Bannog as 'the massif which almost entirely blocks the narrow land neck of Scotland between Stirling and Dumbarton'. He adds that the hero from 'beyond Bannog' came, therefore, from the country of the Picts, which began north of the Forth and of the Bannog hills'; cf. also ibid., 79, 'Bannog is the hills in which the *Bannock* burn rises', and see further W. J. Watson, CPNS 195.

261. *Nis adrawdd.* Ms. *ny sathravt.* This couplet, with some variation, is found at the end of stanzas 23 and 24. Although the stanzas do not correspond to each other, apart from the final couplet, they are printed as variants in CA 10, and conflated in Clancy's translation, EWP 40. Jackson, *God.*, 103, treats them as a chain 'linked at the ends but not at the beginnings'. Cf. also his translation of 261-2, 'The men of Gododdin do not tell of anyone more harsh than Llifiau when he was on the field of battle'.

262. *Llif.* In CA 141 I. Williams suggests that *Llifiau*, as in 254, would be a preferable reading on metrical grounds. The use of the comparative of the adjective *llym*, literally 'sharp, keen' (here translated 'harsher'), involves a play on the name *Llif* (*llif* = 'saw, file').

263-7. Variants of the last two lines in this stanza occur in the A and B texts. The first three lines, however, differ totally. In the B text lines 263-5 read as follows: *Pwys blaen rydre ferei y gadeu/ dryll kedyr cat kein crysgwydyat. bryt am gorlew/diechwith lam y orwylam nat ry gigleu.* Here the first line is short of four syllables. Jackson, *God.*, 102, says that the first part of the B text 'appears corrupt' and does not attempt a translation but, according to D. Ellis Evans, *Ast. Hen.*, 108, the metrical regularity of the lines suggests that B preserves a genuine early text, obscure but not necessarily corrupt.

263. *Arf anghynnull*, etc. Note the sing. forms *arf, dull*, here translated in the plural. The scene depicted is one in which the lone champion stands steadfast amid the confusion of battle. In the first seven words of this stanza the poet employs a technique found in early Celtic nature poetry, that of bare enumeration of the salient features of a scene. The more normal verbal sentence begins in the middle of 264, *treiglesyd llawr . . .*

263. *anghyman.* Could also be read as *anghyfan*, with similar meaning.

264. *Trachywedd.* 'Destruction', cf. 233, *Nid didrachywedd.*

264. *treiglesyd.* An old 3rd. sing. pret. in *-yd (-id)*, cf. 226, *lleddesid.*

264. *Lloegrwys giwed.* There has been much debate about the actual extent of the territory referred to as *Lloegr* in the early poetry, cf. AP 50, where I. Williams points out that *Lloegrwys* is used both for 'the men of Mercia' as well as for 'the enemies of the Gododdin tribe and of Urien Rheged'. The most recent discussion is by Eric Hamp in CMCS 4 (1982), 83-5, where he argues that the original meaning of *Lloegr* was 'having a nearby border, being from near the border'. For *ciwed* Jackson, *God.*, 126, has 'rabble', but it is doubtful whether this word (< *civitas*) had acquired a pejorative meaning at this early stage.

265. *Heesid.* 3rd. sing. pret. of *hëu, hau*, lit. 'to sow', cf. 264, *treiglesyd.*

265. *yng nghynnor trais.* Ms. *yg kynnor eis.* The emendation is suggested in CA 11 on the grounds that the use of *ais* to rhyme with itself is improbable.

266. *Gorug.* The B text has *ef gwneei*, with identical meaning.

267. *Graid fab Hoywgi.* The B text has *breint mab bleidgi.* I. Williams in CA 145 treats *breint* as a common noun although admitting that *Braint* occurs as a proper name, cf. LIDC 18. 170. Jackson, *God.*, 102, translates: 'It was Bleiddgi's right to form the [battle-] pen in the presence of the spears'.

267. *rhag ysberi ryberi crau.* Ms. *hoewgir ac ysberi y beri creu.* The B text has *rac ysberi y beri greu.* The reading adopted is suggested in CA 143. Yn *ryberi* the affirmative particle *ry-* may

denote customary or repeated action, cf. GMW 168, and *peri* is a 3rd. sing. imperf. form in *-i*, cf. 207, *gogyferchi*, etc. Both I. Williams, CA 143, and Jackson, *God.*, 30, take *crau* as meaning a cluster or 'square' of infantry forming a defensive rampart with their shields and spears, cf. 132. *ysgorfa ysgwydawr.*

268. *ardwy.* Ms. *y dwy.* The emendation is suggested in CA 145.

268. *o dan ei dalfrith.* The meaning is uncertain, cf. CA 145. Clancy, EWP 41, translates 'below his freckled forehead', adopting I. Williams's suggestion that 'talcen frych' is a possible meaning. Jackson, *God.*, 126, does not translate.

271. *huan.* Lit. 'sun, sunlight'.

272. *bwyd i frain.* Ms. *bwyt brein*, cf. 215, *bwyd i eryr.* It is not always certain whether the phrase intended is *bwyd brain*, 'a raven feast', i.e. 'a battle', or *bwyd i frain*, 'food for ravens'. Cf. the note on 62 for *cig blaidd, budd brân*, etc. Here Clancy translates 'There was crow's food, a crow's profit', but I have taken the subject of the *bu* which occurs six times in 270-2 to be the hero celebrated in the stanza, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 126.

276. *barnant*, Lit. 'judge', a vivid present. For the construction, plural subj. + plur. verb, cf. line 510.

276. *ŵr.* Ms. *wyr.* I. Williams suggests in CA 147 that the reference is to the hero of the stanza rather than to brave warriors as a body. This famous line is, however, often quoted as a general statement that 'The poets of the world shall be the judges of brave men'. Whichever way it is understood, the line is an example of the heroic poet's emphasis on lasting fame achieved as a reward for bravery, cf. lines 222-4 and 239. I. Williams, loc. cit., points out that the rhyme-scheme *-an, -on* ends with this line and suggests that the stanza should end here. This would, however, deprive it of the name of a hero. A varied rhyme-scheme in *-yr, -eirch, -arch* follows, for which cf. the note on 861.

277. *Diebyrth*, etc. For the construction of verb, object, subject, cf. 258, etc. The hero's 'counsels', expressing his determination to fight, led to his fall in battle.

278. *gan wŷr.* Lit. 'by warriors', i.e. the enemy.

279. *Eleirch Fre.* Probably a place-name,? 'The Hill of Swans'.

280. *arch.* Lit. 'waist'. The line is probably a parenthesis, see CA 148; Jackson, *God.*, 126.

281. *ei grau.* 'His blood'. Ct. 267 where *crau* means an 'enclosure, stronghold, battle-pen'.

283. *camp.* Ms. *camb.* The emendation is suggested in CA 149, as well as in G 100-1 and *Y Cymmr.*, xxxii, 28.

285. *les cerddwriaeth.* Ms. *les kerdoryon prydein.* In CA 149 I. Williams emends *kerdoryon* to *kerdwryaeth*, in order to secure a rhyme with *adwriaeth*, etc., and suggests that *prydein* was a 'thoughtless addition' to the text at some stage in its transmission. The phrase *lles cerddwriaeth*, 'the profit of minstrelsy', is a description of the hero celebrated in the stanza, and is the subject of the verb *edewis.* Note the lenition of the subject in *les.*

286. *Ddyw Calan Ionawr.* A day for largesse and the distribution of gifts.

287. *Nid erddid ei dir.* Jackson translates 'His land was not ploughed though it were uninhabited', and adds that the line is 'unclear', *God.*, 127. He further asks: 'does it mean he is praised for keeping uninhabited land waste and hunting in it, a hero's peacetime occupation and more noble than concerning himself with agriculture like a boor?' A relevant comparison would be CLIH 20, *Ny sethrit vy llenn i a thraet/Nyt erdit vyn tir i heb waet.* The meaning here must be that, even if Gwenabwy had allowed his land to go to waste, no enemy would be permitted to plough it. Though the syntactic relationship is not clear between this line and the phrase *Dra chas anïas* in 288, these three words may be understood as a parenthetic reference to the bitter resistance which Gwenabwy would offer to any potential enemy who attempted to 'plough' his land. Similarly Llywarch Hen averred that in similar circumstances (during his youth) there would have been bloodshed.

288-9. *draig, Dragon.* Lit. a 'dragon', these words are commonly used meaning a 'chieftain, prince', etc., see GPC 1081-2.

290. *Gwen.* Ms. *gwenn.* Probably Gwenabwy's mother, see CA 151.

290. *gynnen Gatraeth.* I. Williams suggests in CA 151 that the text may be confused here, or a line may be missing.

291-302. Although this stanza occurs in both texts, the B text has only six lines, corresponding to 291-2 and 295-8.

291. *amceuddai.* Ms. *y meud e.* The emendation is suggested in CA 151. The B text reads *Geu ath diwedus tutleo*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 105, 'It was true what Tudlew said to you', emending *Geu* to *gwir.*

292. *Marchlew.* The hero celebrated.

293. *Heesid waywc wr.* Cf. 265, *Heesid ais.*

294. *llemenig.* 'Bounding, leaping', with the word *march*, 'horse', understood. For the preceding preposition *i ar*, 'from upon', see GPC 1993.

294. *llwybrdew.* Jackson, *God.*, 127, translates 'wide-coursing'. Cf. the note on *llwybr fwyaf*, 392.

295. *Cyn ni.* Ms. *keny*, 'although not', see GMW 235-6.

295. *am fyrn, am borth.* The B text reads *am byrth amporth*, which Jackson, *God.*, 127, translates: 'by the gates, by the gate(?)'. The meaning 'suffering' has here been selected to render *porth*, but for other possible translations see CA 153. The couplet apparently contrasts Marchlew's sheltered upbringing with his ferocity on the battlefield.

296. *Dywal.* The B text has *cadarn*, 'powerful'.

296. *yn ei orth.* This reading is taken from the B text, *ynyorth.*

The A text has *emborth*. The form *gorth*, 'battle-station', given in GPC 1497, but not in G 574, is taken from this line.

297. *Heesid onn*. Cf. 293. The B text has a variant reading, *ur rwy ysgeinnyei y onn*, with *ysgeiniai*, 'scattered; sprayed, sprinkled', replacing *heesid*.

297. *bedryollt*. Cf. B *bedryholl*. The phrase *pedryollt* (lit. 'four-cleft') *llaw* is here used for the 'grasp of the hand', cf. CA 98. Ifor Williams argued in CA lxxv (cf. xcii and 153) that the half-rhyme *bedryollt, fygedorth* derived from the period when these forms ended in *-olt, -ort*. He describes it as the 'most remarkable rhyme' in the entire poem and a 'proof of undoubted early date', but D. Ellis Evans treats the argument with caution in *Ast. Hen.*, 109. Jackson, *Lang. & Hist.*, 696, dates the change *rt* > *rth* in the 'mid or later sixth century'.

298. *i ar feiniell*. The B text has *y ar vein erch*. In both cases *march* is understood, cf. *llemenig* in 294. *Meiniell* is a composite of *main*, 'slender', and *gell*, 'bay, brown, yellow'; *erch* = 'speckled, dappled'.

301. *fêl*. A possible emendation would be *fed*, 'reaps', cf. CA 155. *Bêl* may however be the 3rd. pers. pres. ind. of a rare verb *belu*, 'to strike', cf. *rhy-felu*, 'to make fire', and see CA 155; GPC 270; *Br. Ron.*, 31.

302. *Farchlew*. Note the lenition of the subject, cf. 129, *Dudfwlch*; 140, *fyddinawr*; 181, *gyfoedion*; 207, *ynnon*.

303. *Isag*. Ms. *Issac*, a Biblical name. The form *Isaac* occurs in LL 406. The name was known in the Roman period, cf. the reference in RBES 270 to 'the actual stamp of a silversmith called Isaac, who worked in Britain later in the [fourth] century'.

303. *o barth Dehau*. 'From the region of the South', i.e. from the viewpoint of the Gododdin territory. Jackson, *God.*, 128, suggests that 'he could have been from Rheged or Elfed'.

304. *môr lliant*. Lit. the 'flow of the sea'.

307. *Men yd glawdd*. Ms. *men yth glawd*. Cf. *God.*, 128, 'where his weapons gouged'. The sense of *clawdd* is that Isag's weapons 'dig' or 'delve' into his enemy, see GPC 504 on *cloddiaf*. The subject of the 3rd. sing. pres. form *clawdd* is here taken to be *ei offer*, but it could also be Isag himself.

307. *maddau*. 3rd. sing. pres. ind. of *maddau*, 'to let go, relinquish', in Modern Welsh 'to forgive'. The meaning is that Isag strikes his enemy so hard that he need not fear a return blow. Note that the two verbs in the line are in the vivid present.

308. *hyll dihyll, heu dihau*. Discussing these phrases in BBCS xvi (1955), 105-8, Professor Caerwyn Williams compares the Breton *sav-disav, krog-diskrog*, etc., which express the idea of uncertainty or alternation. There was no alternation or uncertainty in Isag's ferocity. He was not at various times 'fierce' and 'not fierce', or 'decided' and 'undecided'.

309. *Seiniesyd*. 3rd. sing. pret. of *seinio*, cf. 25, *treiglesyd*, etc.

310. *mab Gwyddnau*. Note that the hero's name is the first word in the stanza, and his father's the last.

311. *Ceredig caradwy*. The alliteration should be noted. The phrase is repeated in the first line of the following stanza.

312. *Achubai*. Here *achub*, from Lat. *occupo*, is used in its old sense of 'to seize'. Cf. the modern meaning 'to save, deliver'.

313. *Lledfegin*. The translation is based on I. Williams's detailed note in CA 160. Ct. Jackson, *God.*, 128, 'the fosterling', a rendering suggested by a different interpretation of *lled-* proposed by David Greene in *Celtica*, ii, 338. Cf. also GPC 2131.

313. *ys*. Lit. 'is', here rendered 'was'.

315. *Ys deupo*. In this phrase *ys* contains the 3rd. pers. inf. pronoun *-s*, probably in a dative sense and reinforcing *câr cyrdd*, lit. 'the lover of songs'. Cf. *A'th fo di* in 238, replaced in the A text by *ys deupo*, with an apparent confusion of second and third persons. For *deupo*, 3rd. sing. pres. subj. of *dyfod*, 'to come', here used with an optative meaning, see GMW 135.

315. *cyfnod*. In Modern Welsh 'a period', this word is here used for 'an appointed time, assignment', and is understood as the subject of *deupo*.

316. *Yng ngwlad nef*. Ms. *y wlat nef*. The syntactical interpretation of the couplet here adopted resembles that of Jackson, *God.*, 128, 'May the friend of the arts have an assignation in the land of Heaven, the home of enlightenment'. In *Ysg. Beirn. X*, 41, however, D. Simon Evans takes *câr cyrdd* to be the subject of *ys deupo* and gives the couplet the meaning, 'May the friend of song at the appointed time come to the land of heaven', thus accepting the reading *y wlat nef*. He categorizes this stanza and the next, on account of the Christian references they contain, as late monkish additions to the text of *Y Gododdin*. In CA 161 I. Williams proposes the omission of *y* yn *y wlat nef* (cf. 67, *Ododdin*; 78, *Gatraeth*, etc.) and remarks on the similarity of lines 313-16 to an *englyn*.

318. *gofaran*. 'Ferocious'. The adjective describes *ceimiad* rather than *cad*, cf. CA 161.

321. *diwan*. 'Not weak (*di-wan*)', i.e. powerful.

325. *Ys deupo*. Cf. 315. The literal meaning here again is arguably dative, cf. the translation by D. Simon Evans, loc. cit., 'deued iddo groeso' ('may there come to him welcome').

326. *Can Drindod*, etc. The line recalls the poem 'Mawl i'r Drindod' in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which stresses the unity within the Trinity, see LIDC p. 17.

328. *trychwn drychiad*. Ms. *trychwn trychyat*. *Trychwn*, lit. 'three hounds', i.e. 'warriors', is in the genitive. The lenition of the initial *t-* in *trychiad*, 'striker, cutter, hewer', showing that it is the second element in a compound, is not indicated in the Ms.

330. *wyddgwn*. Lit. 'wild dogs'. The meaning is that Caradog fed the wolves by providing them with corpses, cf. *God.*, 129.

331. *Ywain fab Eulad.* Cf. Ywain the son of Marro mentioned in stanza 1.

332. *Gwrien a Gwyn a Gwriad.* A line from the 'Stanzas of the Graves' in the Black Book of Carmarthen may be compared, *gwen. a gurien. a guriad*, LIDC 18.9, in which *gwen* could be for 'Gwên' or represent an older spelling of 'Gwyn'.

334. *Bryn Hyddwn.* A place-name (which could also be read as *Bryn Hydwn*), not otherwise known. The personal name *Hyddwn*, which occurs in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, PKM 75, is unlikely to be relevant here. *Bryn Hyddwn* was probably in the region of Catraeth, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 129.

334. *cyn caffad. Caffad* is the pret. impers. of *caffael*, 'to seize, take', etc. The meaning probably is that not one of the heroes was able to return to his home before their fates overtook them and laid them low.

336. *yr un.* Ms. *vrun.* The use of the definite article is usually regarded as a sign of lateness in texts of early poetry.

337. *Gwŷr a grysiasant.* Note the plural verb, compared with the singular *aeth* in *Gwŷr a aeth* in lines 67, 74, 78, etc.

344. *Achubiaid.* The Ms. has the singular *achubyat*, but the naming of eleven of the 'attackers' in the preceding three lines suggests the emendation. It should be noted that five members of the *gosgordd* are named in the previous stanza. Caradog and Gwyn are named in both stanzas.

344. *anghyfan.* Ms. *angkyman.* The emendation is based on the supposition that the scribe, in copying from an older text, failed to change *-m-* to *-f-*. *Anghyman*, 'broken', is however a possible reading, cf. line 263 where it has been adopted.

345. *lleseint.* Ms. *lledessynt.* For the 3rd. plur. pret. passive *llesseint*, 'they have been killed', see CLIH 82; GMW 127; *lledessynt* in the Ms. probably represents a confusion with the 3rd. plur. plup. active form *lladdesynt.*

345. *lladdasan.* Cf. *atgorsan* in 346. There are many medieval instances of the change *-nt* > *-n(n)* in the 3rd. plur. endings of verbs, see GMW 120. *Lladdasan(t)* and *anghyfan(n)* would, however, have constituted a satisfactory early rhyme, see *Y Cymmr.*, xxviii, 208; YMTh 53, but the rhyme with *Aeddan (-an)* is undoubtedly late, cf. LIDC 4.4, *gan, aedan, kywlavan.*

348. *odd uch medd*, etc. Cf. line 121, as emended. The emendation to 121, as proposed in CA 103, is based on this line.

349. *hadrawdd . . . angawr.* A half-rhyme, cf. 110, *llafnawr, annawdd.*

350. *maeth.* 3rd. sing. pret. of *magu*, 'to rear, nurture', cf. *gydfaeth* in line 347. As is pointed out in CA 166, the meaning 'cared for' or 'succoured' (Jackson, *God.*, 130) is unusual.

353. *Gwlgod.* Ms. *gwlyget.* The *-e-* in the final syllable probably represents a misreading of *-o-* in an early written text, see CA 166. Gwlgod of the Gododdin was probably Mynyddog's *maer* or steward, who was responsible for arranging the feast at the royal hall, see CA xliii; *God.*, 20. In the medieval tale *Culhwch and Olwen* he appears as *Gwlgawd Gododdin*, the owner of a horn required 'to pour out for us' on the occasion of the wedding of Olwen, daughter of the giant Ysbaddaden, see G. Jones & T. Jones, *The Mab.*, 115. There Gwlgod has entered the milieu of legend, while retaining a memory of his original stewardly function. He was also one of the warriors who fell at Catraeth for he is mourned in line 770, which mentions him in the company of Rhufon, Gwgon and Gwion, cf. 342.

356. This stanza, like 22, has been misplaced and belongs to the series 9-15.

357. *nerth meirch.* Lit. 'a power of horses'. I. Williams, CA 167, suggests the meaning 'a host' for *nerth* but also admits the possibility that *nerth meirch* may represent a scribal error for *myth-meirch*, 'swift horses', cf. lines 499-500, where *fythfeirch* occurs close to *gwrmseirch.*

361. *Cwyddai bum*, etc. The line is identical with 59, except that *bum* (Ms. *bym*) shows lenition of the subject after the 3rd. sing. imperf.

It will be noted that in stanza 35 the first four lines celebrate the warriors who went to Catraeth, but that the last four refer only to one of them, Rhufon the Tall.

364. *mor orchynnan.* Jackson, *God.*, 130, translates 'so full of clamour'.

365. *i gyflafan.* Ms. *y gyvlavan.* Jackson translates 'whose disaster', *God.*, 130, thus understanding *y* as the 3rd. sing. pronoun *ei.* This, however, would require a Ms. reading *y chyvlavan*, as *neuadd* is a fem. noun.

366. *Dyrllyddud meddud.* The second word is here taken as a noun, 'enjoyment', etc., see CA 168, but it also occurs as a verbal form, 2nd. sing. imperf. of *meddu.* Jackson, *God.*, 130, translates 'You deserved to enjoy your mead', thus adopting I. Williams's suggested emendation '*d.* [*med*] *medut*', CA 168.

367. *Ni thraethai na wnelai. Cynon* is here understood as the subject of both verbs, despite the suggestion in CA 169 that *Morien* is the subject of *thraethai* and Jackson's translation, *God.*, 130, 'He did not tell that Cynon would not make a corpse'. The line is a typical example of litotes, cf. 19-20, 'There shall not be enmity between thee and me'. No doubt Cynon boasted that he would make many corpses.

367. *galan.* Ms. *kelein.* The rhyme appears to require the emendation, see CA 169, but cf. the remarks on *proest* by Jenny Rowland in BBCS xxx (1983), 238.

368. *sôn edlydan.* I. Williams suggests *soned lydan* as a possible emendation but GPC 1166 admits the form *edlydan.*

369. *Seiniesyd*, etc. The line is a variant of 309.

370. *Nag y cysgyg.* Ms. *noc ac esgyc.*

370. *carreg fawr.* Ms. *carrec vyr vawr.* I. Williams suggests, CA 170, that *vyr* is an error for *vawr*, which the scribe omitted to delete. *Carreg* here means a 'rock' rather than a 'stone', as in Mod. Welsh.

370. *fawr ei hadfan.* Ms. *vawr y chyhadvan.* For the emendation see CA 170.

371. *Wid.* The unlenited form could be *Gwid* or *Gwŷd. Wid*, however, occurs as a Pictish name, cf. *God.*, 130.

It will be noted that this stanza celebrates three heroes, Morien, Cynon and Gwid.

373. *ail Caradog.* The phrase could also mean 'in the manner of Caradog', cf. Clancy, EWP 44, 'second Caradog'; Jackson, *God.*, 131, 'a worthy successor to Caradog'. If, however, Caradog was Morien's father it is unlikely that he was identical with the Caradog of lines 327 and 341.

374. *Nid engis.* Ms. *ny diengis.* The emendation is suggested in CA 171 in order to give a line of nine syllables. *Lwrw* is monosyllabic. The 'battle' was not Catraeth, cf. line 380.

375. *Dywal ddywalach.* In full the phrase would be *dywal a fai ddywalach*, cf. 210, *Ŵr well;* 943, *Gŵr a fai well*, and see CA 171-2.

375. *mab Fferog.* The hero of this stanza is anonymous. Note the play on words, *Fferog, ffêr.*

376. *ffaglai*, etc. The meaning probably is that sparks were struck from the horse's hooves as its rider drove it in headlong flight.

377. *dinas i lu ofnog.* References to fear are rare in the poem, cf. line 95.

380. *neu.* An intensive particle meaning 'indeed, truly'. The son of Fferog's bitter recompense for his steadfastness was death on the battle-field.

381. *aillt.* Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 131, 'liegeman'. The form could be sing. or plur., cf. I. Williams, CA 173, 'deiliaid', i.e. 'subjects, vassals, supporters'.

382-3. *mor ddiesig . . . No Chynon.* There appears to be a lacuna in the text, cf. CA 173.

383. *geinion wledig. Ceinion*, the plur. of *cain*, 'fine, beautiful', can also be understood as meaning 'jewels, adornments' or 'the best and first liquor brought to the hall', cf. GPC 390. It could also be a place-name, cf. CA 173. Jackson, *God.*, 131, translates 'the bejewelled (?) prince'.

384. *Neud.* Ms. *nyt.* The emendation is suggested in CA 173.

384. *yn nhâl lleithig.* The 'end of the bench' (or 'couch') was the place of honour in the hall, cf. CA 173; *God.*, 34.

385. *nid adwenid.* i.e. there would be no need to strike him a second time. Cf. 962, *Nid adwanai.*

387. *tyllai fyddinawr*, Cf. 360, *tyllai trwy fyddinawr.*

388. *rhagrygïawr.* Cf. 60, *dychïawr*, 'fall(s)', GPC 475 gives *ciawr* as a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. verb, 'falls, drops, descends'. In CA 174 I. Williams suggests that *rhagrygïawr* is used either to refer to Cynon 'attacking' in the forefront of his army, or to his horses 'racing in front'.

389. *Yn nydd gŵyth.* Cf. 380.

390. *gan wyrdd wawr.* Cf. 217.

391-2. *mor ddianaf lew . . . Mor hael.* There again appears to be a lacuna in the text, cf. 382-3. *Lew* may be the lenited form of *glew*, 'bold, vigorous', etc., here used to confirm or strengthen *dianaf*, lit. 'faultless, flawless', but I. Williams suggests in CA 175 that it could appropriately be emended to *neu*. The stanza was misplaced in the manuscript, cf. *God.*, 139 and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Text*, 15, and belongs to the series or chain of four stanzas commencing *Ni wnaethpwyd neuadd . . .* Stanza 36 refers to Cynon, while 38 and 39 are both devoted to his praise and describe him as *lary fron* (lines 383 and 393).

392. *llwybr fwyaf.* Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 139, 'most widely-travelled'. A compound adj. in which the lenited form *fwyaf* does not describe the masc. noun *llwybr* but refers to the hero, cf. 294, *llwybrdew.*

393. *addon.* The word may also be understood as an adjective, 'noble', cf. GPC 34; CA 208; *God.*, 139, 'the noble and most fair!'

394. *ar lled eithaf.* The army's furthest flank or wing was a position of crucial importance, cf. CA 176.

395. *angor byddin.* The metaphor is also used by Taliesin, cf. the note on line 561.

395. *budd eiliasaf.* Jackson translates 'the plundering chieftain', *God.*, 139.

396. *O'r sawl.* Another instance of the def. art., cf. 244, 869.

396. *ym myd.* 'In the fight' or 'in the world', cf. CA 176.

400. *canaf it, iôr.* Ms. *canaf yty or.* The emendation is suggested in CA 176.

402. *Disgynsid.* An old 3rd. sing. pret., cf. 265, *Heesid*, and see CA 177; GMW 123.

403. *gormes.* An unlenited accusative, cf. 52, *Ef gwrthodes gwrŷs.* For the meaning 'enemy' see CA 177. Jackson, *God.*, 132, translates 'oppressor'.

403. *ef dodes ffin.* i.e. he fixed a boundary which the enemy would not be allowed to cross.

404. *rhyfel chwerthin.* Cf. 67, *chwerthin ognaw;* 74, *chwerthin wanar.*

405. *Hud effyd.* Ms. *hut effyt.* The translation is far from certain and Jackson, *God.*, 132, does not translate. *Hut* may be the pre-verbal particle *hu(d)*, see GPC 1904; GMW 170. I. Williams, CA 178, suggests that *effyt* can be derived from Lat. *appeto*, 'to attack', but also proposes a possible reading *hutessyt*, from *hudo*, 'to produce by magic, enchant, charm' (cf. GPC

1906), but questions whether a satisfactory meaning could be established.

405. *i lwrw Elffin.* Ms. *e lwry elfin.* For *i lwrw*, 'in the manner of', cf. 374, *i lwrw mynog.* Elffin, here referred to as a paragon of valour, is not mentioned elsewhere in *Y Gododdin.* The name is of Latin origin (< *Alpinus*, see *God.*, 132), and an *Elphin* is found as one of the sons of Urien Rheged, cf. CLIH 137, as well as the *Elphin ap Gwyddno* of the Taliesin legend, see P. H. Ford, *The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales*, 165; G 468.

407. *Disgynsid*, etc. A variant A text (mistakenly described as B in CA 17) omits this line and substitutes the two lines *Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin/e gatraeth gwerin fraeth fysgiolin*, which Jackson, *God.*, 138, translates 'The uprising of skilful warriors to Catraeth, a swift spirited army'.

408. This line is repeated in 757.

409. *Heesid.* Mss. *heyessyt; heyessit.* See 402, *Disgynsid.*

412. *rhag dwyrain alaf.* Ms. *in alauoed dwyrem.* The emendation, based on the requirements of the rhyme-scheme in *-af*, is suggested in CA 178-9. Cf. also the Ms. reading of line 425, *rac alauoed wyrein*, which has *rac* for *in.* Jackson, *God.*, 109, translates 'for the cattleherds of the East'. The description of Owain ab Urien as *dwyrein ffossawt* in CT 6.9 may be compared, see *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 1, ed. A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes, 60-1, 'Owain, scourge of the eastlands', i.e. the eastern territories which had fallen into the possession of the Angles.

413. *i gelew.* Ms. *e celeo.* See the note on line 234 for the reading *e celyo* in the B text of that line. The word *celeo, celew* is obscure but I. Williams suggests in CA 134 that it is a laudatory term and may mean a 'lion, eagle, or something similar'. Jackson, *God.*, 109, does not translate.

413. *erydmygaf.* Ms. *erit migam*, which I. Williams explains as *er-mygaf*, 'I honour', with an infixed obj. pron. *(y)d*, 'him', see CA 179; BBCS v (1930), 240. Jackson, *God.*, 109, also translates 'I honour him'. Cf. 215, *erysmygai.*

414. *Gwanannon gwerth medd.* Ms. *guannannon guirth med.* Gwanannon, although unknown, was possibly 'a region on the borders of Gododdin', see Jackson, *God.*, 145. The translation 'of Gwanannon' is speculative, cf. Clancy, EWP 46, 'At Gwananhon, for mead'. Lloyd-Jones, G 613, suggests that *gwanannon* may be the plural of a common noun, *gwanan*, 'battle, campaign,' etc.

414. *gwryd fwyaf.* Ms. *guryt muihiam.* For the lenition in *fwyaf* cf. 392, *fwyaf*; 397, *wriaf. Gwryd mwyaf* would, however, also be a possible reading.

415. *a gwych.* Ms. *ac guich.* The adj. *gwych* could also be understood as a noun, 'a splendid person, warrior', etc.

415. *hynaf.* Ms. *inham.* The reading *hinham* is suggested in CA 179. For *hynaf*, 'chieftain', lit. 'elder', see CLIH 206; GPC 1974.

416. *Boddw Adaf.* Ms. *bodu at am.* For *Boddw* as a personal name, related to Ir. *bodb*, 'a scald-crow', and *Bodb*, 'a war-goddess', see CA 179, and for *adaf*, 'hand, talon', cf. 399 and 975, and see CLIH 60; GPC 11. 'Crow-talon' was possibly an appropriate name for Eithinyn's father. Jackson, *God.*, 109, translates 'Eithinyn the renowned son of Boddw . . .'

417. *Gwŷr gormant aethant.* Here a plural subject is followed immediately by a plural verb, cf. 142, *maon dychiorant.*

417. *cennyn.* Ms. *cennin*, for Mod. Welsh *gennym. E cennin* would be a better reading, cf. *aethant e genhyn* in line 539 and LIDC 16.25, *nyd ant y kenhin.* GPC 1993 gives the meaning 'from, from the side of' for *i(y) gan*, but not for *gan, can*, 1379.

422. *taranawr.* Ms. *taran.* The emendation *[a]mal taranaur* is suggested in CA 180.

423. *Ef tarddai.* Ms. *nem tarhei.* For the emendation *tarddai* see CA 180-1, where I. Williams also suggests that *nem* is an error for *em = ef.* Jackson, *God.*, 110, translates 'like the thunder of heaven', taking *nem = nef.*

423. *sgwydawr.* An older form of *ysgwydawr.*

424. *rhynnawdd.* Forms a half-rhyme with *taranawr, sgwydawr* in lines 422-3. Cf. the rhymes in BT 56.10-13, *rynnawd, plawd, allawr, mawr, gwadawl.*

425. *rhag dwyrain alafawr.* Ms. *rac alauoed wyrein.* Cf. the note on 412 and see CA 179 and 181 for the emendation. The rhyme-scheme of the stanza requires a line ending in *-awr.* I. Williams also suggests that lines 425-6 could be read *Disgynsid yn nhrwm rhag alafawr/Cywyrain llu llaes ysgwydawr.* For the intrusion of the *Cywyrain* formula into the *Disgynsid* series cf. the note on 407.

426. *wyre.* Lit. 'arises'.

426. *llaes.* Jackson, *God.*, 132, does not translate, cf. Clancy, EWP 46, 'shields in tatters'. *Llaes*, 'loose, slack' (< Lat. *laxus*) also has the meanings 'trailing, long, low'.

427. *Ysgwydfriw rhag biw, Beli. Ysgwydfriw* is taken to be a description of Beli, who led the raid against the cattle-herds of the enemy from the eastlands. The reference is probably not to the battle of Catraeth, cf. the notes on lines 39 and 40. Jackson, however, *God.*, 132, translates '[there was] a broken shield before the cattle of Beli the boisterous', and suggests that 'a cattle-raid had been made on Cadfannan's lands and he had repulsed it'.

428. *ffestiniawr.* A noun, 'one who hastens, (speedy) defender', see GPC 1285.

429. *deliid.* Probably 3rd. sing. pres. ind. of *dal*, 'to hold, sustain', see CA 183, and cf. 433, *gelwid*, and 434, *crynid*, for forms in *-id.* G 292 gives the form as imperf. impersonal.

429. *cynllwyd*. I. Williams, CA 183, suggests that the 'grey-haired warrior' was identical with the *nâr* of the previous line, who must have been Beli. 'Grey-haired' is an unusual description of the youthful warriors of the Gododdin but *cynllwyd* may have meant simply a 'warrior leader', cf. LIDC 31.87, *Nau ugein kinlluc*, where *kinlluc* is possibly an error for *kinlluid*.

429. *i ar gynhorawr*. Ms. *y ar gynghorawr*. For the emendation see G 225; CA 183. Cf. *cynhorog*, 'in the forefront', in lines 31, 49 and 56, and *cynnor*, 'front rank', in 265.

430. *ych eurdorchawr*. The gold-torqued ox is presumably to be identified with the 'lord' and 'grey-haired warrior' of the preceding lines. *Eurdorchawr*, if adjectival, is an unusual form, cf. 243, *eurdorchawg*, and see G 496, which suggests that *eurdorchawr* may be the plural of *eurdorch*, a 'gold torque'; see also GPC 1258 s.v. Cf. *torchawr* in line 50, 'torqued' or 'one wearing a torque'.

431. *Twrch gorug amod*. The 'boar' is perhaps Cadfannan, who is celebrated in the final couplet of the stanza. For *gorug amod*, lit. 'he made an agreement', cf. 42, *Ei amod a fu nod a gadwyd*.

431. *ystrywiawr*. Possibly a plur. noun, 'stratagems, ruses, wiles', but more probably an adjective in *-(i)awr* (<Lat. *-arius*), cf. *eurdorchawr* in preceding line and see CA 184.

432. *Teilyng daith*. Jackson, *God.*, 133, translates 'worthy of his lawful entitlements'. *Teilyng* is a variant of *teilwng*, 'worthy', and *taith* is related to *teithi*, 'right(s)', cf. 188 and CA 124 and 184.

433. *A'n gelwid*. Lit. 'He who calls us'. *Gelwid* is a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. in *-id*, see GMW 119. This line gives the words uttered by the 'boar', a rare instance of direct speech in the early poetry. Cf. the three speeches in Taliesin's poem *Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain*, CT 6; A. O. H. Jarman, *The Cynfeirdd*, 28-9; *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 1, 60. In CA 184 I. Williams suggests that *gwrthiad gawr* in line 432 can be understood as 'a shout of refusal', so that the words spoken by Cadfannan, if he is the 'boar', are on a par with Owain ab Urien's rejection of Fflamddwyn's demand for hostages in Taliesin's poem. In *Ysg. Beirn. X*, 41-2, however, D. Simon Evans points out that this line is the only instance in *Y Gododdin* of a call for divine aid in battle and argues that we cannot in any case be sure of its meaning. He clearly regards the line as a late Christian addition to the poem, cf. also his remarks on lines 71-3.

433. *athleddawr*. I. Williams, CA 184, suggests the meaning 'protector'. Cf. *adleddawr*, 139, translated 'slayer'.

433. *ym mid*. Ms. *e myt*. *Ym myd*, also meaning 'in battle', is a possible reading, see CA 184, in which case the phrase should be placed at the beginning of line 434 and not included in the speech uttered by the 'boar'.

434. *crynid*. Another 3rd. sing. pres. ind. in *-id*, cf. *gelwid* in the previous line. The pres. forms in this stanza, *wyre, deliid, crynid,*

are translated 'arose', 'sustained' and 'brandished'. Contrast the use of the pret. *gorug* in lines 431 and 435 (*ryorug*).

435. *Cadfannan*. Has already been celebrated in line 48 in stanza 4. It should be noted that neither stanza 4 nor 44 seems to refer to the battle of Catraeth. The references to two heroes, Beli and Cadfannan, in 44 suggest the possibility that two stanzas have been conflated.

435. *ryorug clud*. Ms. *er a clut*. For the emendation see CA 185.

437. *Am drynni*, etc. The opening words of an *englyn*, written in the eleventh century, *Amdinnit trynit trylenn*, appear to echo the first line of this stanza, although there is no correspondence of meaning. For the *englyn* see I. Williams's discussion in BWP 181. In CA 186 I. Williams suggests that *drynni, trynni* could be related to Ir. *drenn*, 'contention, battle', and refers to the battle of Catraeth, and that *drylaw*, mutated from *trylaw*, means 'excessively sad', cf. *llaw-frydedd*, 'sadness, melancholy'. He further suggests that *drylen*, mutated from *trylen*, is related to *dilen*, which GPC 1013 translates as 'death, ruin, destruction'.

439. *Am gwyddo gwallt*. A line from the Llywarch Hen poetry may be compared: *A gwaet ar wallt hyll*, 'And blood on dishevelled hair', CLIH 5.

441. *â'i wialen*. Ms. *ae waiw*. The emendation is suggested in CA 188.

442. *Dulliad, diwylliad*. Lit. 'arranger, cultivator'.

443-4. *Amug Morien gwenwawd Myrddin*. In the Ms. *Myrddin* is spelt *mirdyn*, which may however represent an accidental transposition of the vowel symbols in *myrdin*. The B text reading is *atguuc emorem ae guiau hem*, which I. Williams in CA 189 has reconstructed as *atguuce(i) Morien ae guialen*, 'Morien took [them?] away with his spear'. In CA 188 I. Williams describes the reference to Myrddin in the A text as the 'oldest mention of that *Cynfardd*', but in view of the medieval character of the orthography in that text (apart, possibly, from the *i* in *mirdyn*), and the absence of the name from the B text, the point should not be overstressed. In TYP 469 Dr Bromwich stated that 'we can have no assurance that the line was included in the oldest redaction of the poem, although the spelling *Mirdyn* indicates a prototype in O.W. orthography'. The spelling *Mirtin* occurs twice, however, in the Black Book of Carmarthen, LIDC pp. 1-2, which is now dated c. 1250, see ibid., xxiv. Morien, who has already been mentioned in lines 366 and 373 and is again named in 528, was no doubt one of the heroes of the Gododdin, but whether he could be linked with Myrddin is doubtful despite a reference in the poem *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei Chwaer*, RP 583.13, to the death of *moryen mur trin*. The date of Myrddin's alleged lapse into madness at the battle of Arfderydd was 573, perhaps a generation before the battle of Catraeth, and his legend associates him with Rhydderch Hael and Gwenddolau,

who were not princes or kings of the Gododdin territory, cf. *St. Celt.*, x/xi, 188. In *God.*, 133, Jackson suggests that *Gwenwawd Myrddin*, which he translates 'the blessed inspiration of Myrddin', means 'Welsh poetry, = Celtic civilisation?' If this could be understood as meaning the prophecies ascribed to Myrddin in medieval times it would probably be safe to describe the reference as an interpolation to be dated not earlier than the composition of *Armes Prydain* (c. 930), which refers to Myrddin as a prophet or source of prophecy, see AP 3. The term *gwenwawd* has already been used in line 247 for Aneirin's poem.

The brevity of the line *Amug Morien* suggests that the A text of the stanza is in an unsatisfactory state. The B text has only eight lines containing a number of obscurities. A reference in one line to 'the Irish and the Picts' does not relate easily to the main subject of *Y Gododdin*.

445. *Prif yng ngweryd.* Note the use of *prif*, 'first', from Lat. *primus*, as a noun. In CA 188, however, I. Williams suggests that it may be a gloss on *pen* in the preceding line. I. Williams also suggests a possible emendation of *yng ngweryd* (Ms. *eg weryt*) to *yng ngwerth (iguert)*, 'in return for'.

445. *â channerth a chamen.* Ms. *ac an nerth ac am hen.* The emendation is suggested in CA 188. GPC 400 gives 'prop, buttress, pillar' as possible meanings for *camen*, but the examples are late. I. Williams also suggests *camhunben*, 'prince or leader in battle' (GPC 402) as a possible reading. Jackson, *God.*, 133, does not translate *a chamen*.

446-7. *Trywyr . . . Deuddeg*, etc. The assertion that Bradwen and Gwenabwy, respectively, displayed the valour of three and twelve warriors 'for the favour of a maiden', thereby implying a considerable change in the motivation for heroism, is no doubt a late addition to the poem. (It may be noted that for *deuddeg* the B text reads *deheuec*, 'dexterous, skilful', cf. CA 19; GPC 918.) By contrast Madog in line 32 'earned his mead' in the conventional fashion, although he was 'breathless before a maiden'. One is reminded of the declaration by Myrddin in the *Afallennau* that he had fought by the apple-tree's trunk 'for the satisfaction of a maiden' (*ir bot y wun*, LICD 16.28), which is clearly a late addition to the original content of the legend. In the *Oianau* Myrddin gives 'advice to Gwenabwy: let the young not be amorous with courteous dalliance' (*A chussil a rotaf e y wenabuy./ Na uid ieuangc serchauc syberv warruy*, LIDC 17.136-7). In G 659, however, Lloyd-Jones lists this Gwenabwy as a different person from the one mentioned in *Y Gododdin*.

446. *Bradwen.* In the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* 'Bradwen son of Moren Mynawg and Moren Mynawg himself' are named among Arthur's courtiers, see *The Mab.*, 100. Another reference in the same tale mentions 'Bradwen son of Iaen, and Moren son of Iaen', ibid., 101. To locate the warriors who fought at Catraeth

in Arthur's court was, of course, anachronistic and Jackson, *God.*, 21, describes the list in the tale as 'a rag-bag of persons traditional and imaginary, native and foreign, drawn from every conceivable source known to the teller'. Bradwen is again mentioned in line 527, and Morien in 528, as paragons of valour.

447. *Gwenabwy.* Ms. A, *gwenabwy;* B, *gwenauwy.* He has already been praised for his valour in line 290.

447. *Gwen.* Ms. A, *gwenn.* Probably Gwenabwy's mother, cf. CA 151. For the use of matronymics in place of patronymics see TYP 372, 433.

449. *Gweinyddiawr.* An adj., lit. 'useful, profitable', see GPC 1621; CA 190.

453. *Gnawd.* Carries the sense of 'usual, customary'.

453. *gwychnawd.* The B text reads *gwychlaut*, 'bold heat'.

455. *Bradwen.* The B text does not mention Bradwen but refers to *mor em*, i.e. Morien, and Gwenabwy son of Gwen, cf. the preceding stanza. In Jackson's translation, *God.*, 101, it says of Morien: 'His gauntleted hand was raised against the heathen and the Gaels and the Picts' and the poet adds that 'I will sing that Morien would not have died, [nor] the just (?) Gwenabwy son of Gwen'. The 'heathen' (*gynt*) are presumably the English but the lines translated do not appear to refer to the battle of Catraeth. As is pointed out in CA lxxiii, lines 452-5 are in the form of an *englyn unodl union*, cf. also lines 313-16.

456. *Aur.* The reference is probably to arms or armour adorned with gold, cf. 319, *ysgwyd eurgrwydr;* 243, *eurdorchawg*, but I. Williams in CA 193 suggests the alternative meaning that the warrior was of 'golden' value. There are three texts of this stanza. The C text reads *Huitreuit clair* for the first line, possibly *chwitrefydd claer*, 'the brilliant fiercest warrior', see CA 199.

457. *Crysgwyddiad.* The C text has *cinteiluuat*, cf. 462.

457. *claer.* The A text has *aer*, and the B text *dair* (? for *clair*). Four or five lines have been omitted as obscure and corrupt after 457, see CA 20-1, lines 499-502, 510-13 and 521-5; Clancy attempts a free approximation in EWP 47.

458. *Nis adrawdd*, etc. The A text has *neus adrawd a vo mwy.* The line is not in C.

459. *llyw.* A has *llwy*, and B *lui*. The line is not in C. The emendation is suggested in CA 196. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 107, 'the adventures of the chief'.

460. *amluch.* I. Williams, CA 196, suggests emending to *amliw*.

460. *lafanad.* A has *lliuanat* and B reads *o dam lun luch liuanat*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 107, 'about him whose figure was of brilliant mould'. The reading *llafanad*, lit. 'element', is suggested in CA 197.

461. *Nis adrawdd Gododdin.* The reading is from C. A has *neus adrawd a uo mwy*, and B *nys adraud a uo biu*.

461. *pleingiaid.* A verb-noun, 'to fight', probably from Lat. *plango*, 'to strike, beat', see CA 197. The readings are A, *en awr blygeint*; B, *in dit pleimieit*; C, *in dit pleigheit.*

462. *cynheilwad.* A, *kynheilweing*; B, *cinelueit*; C, *citeluat.*

464. *tywysen gorddirod.* Here *tywysen*, an 'ear of corn', is used for 'grain-lands, territory', see CA 200 and cf. the use of *tywarchen*, lit. 'sod, turf', in 438. For *gorddirod*, plur. of *gorddir*, 'enemy', etc., see CA 201 and GPC 1471. However, Jackson, *God.*, 134, translates 'defending the corn of the borderlands (?)'.

466. *Oedd dôr ddiachor.* Here the poet speaks of the hero in the third person after addressing him in the second. Cf. lines 19-30.

466. *drai.* The unlenited form *trai* would be expected after the masc. *din*, cf. CA 201-2.

467. *olud.* Lenited form of *golud*, i.e. *go* + *glud*, 'persistent'.

469. *Ni elwid gwynfyd.* It is doubtful whether *elwid* could be read *elwyd*, to rhyme with *gwynfyd*, as suggested in CA 202. The forms in *-yd* to which I. Williams refers are 3rd. sing. pres. ind., whereas *elwid* is impers. imperf. The line probably contains a play on the word *gwynfyd*, 'happiness, delight, bliss', etc., which may also be the hero's name, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 134, 'none called on Gwynfyd but he would be there'; and Clancy, EWP 48, 'Where he was, was called Paradise'.

470. *Nid wyf*, etc. In this and the following stanza Aneirin speaks in the first person and refers to his own imprisonment and subsequent rescue. In line 247 we have already seen his assertion that he escaped from his blood-shedding on account of his fair song. For the view that statements such as these are interpolations or incremental additions to the text of *Y Gododdin* see M. E. Owen in *Ast. Hen.*, 136-9. In the present stanza Aneirin begins his complaint about his incarceration underground with the litotes that he 'is not a tired nobleman reclining comfortably on a couch', cf. Jackson, *God.*, 134.

478. *o fuelin.* Jackson, *God.*, 135, translates 'about the drinking-horn'. Cf. CA 205.

480. *Mi na fi.* In CA 206 I. Williams interprets this as meaning that, while Aneirin claims to have sung *Y Gododdin*, he also asserts that the power which enabled him to do so lay outside him. Medieval Welsh poets frequently declared that their muse derived from God or the Trinity. Jackson, *God.*, 134, explains I. Williams's comment (not quite adequately) as meaning that 'in his inspired ecstasy the poet stands outside himself and does not know himself', and then expresses the opinion that 'this seems rather unconvincing'. On p. 50 he suggests that 'the words "and yet not I" might mean "since I am dead and do not exist",' and adds that 'the theme of the poet speaking a poem after death from his grave is known elsewhere in Welsh poetry'.

480. *Neirin.* Ms. *aneirin.* The older form *Neirin* (cf. J. Morris, *Nennius*, 78) gives a line of five syllables. Only in stanzas 1 and 49 is Aneirin mentioned by name.

481. *Taliesin.* The poet, roughly contemporary with Aneirin, who sang in praise of Urien king of Rheged, an area which lay a hundred miles to the south of the centre of the Gododdin territory. It is unlikely that Aneirin would have appealed to him as a witness or an authority but in later tradition he became known as *Taliesin Ben Beirdd*, 'Taliesin Chief of Poets'. In CA 206-7, however, I. Williams argues that as 'chief of poets' he would have understood the point made by Aneirin about the source of the muse. On the other hand Jackson states in *God.*, 51, that 'the author may have believed that Taliesin composed an elegy on Aneirin—may even have know(n) such a poem'. A late reference coupling Aneirin with Taliesin is found in the poem *Anrheg Urien*, see CA 206; *Ast. Hen.*, 39-40; *Y Cymmr.*, xxviii, 195-7. A reference perhaps comparable to the one in the text is found in *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (c. 1100 ?), in which Myrddin is made to acknowledge Taliesin's precedence as a prophet, see YMTh 58; LIDC 1.37.

483. *Neu cheint.* Ms. *neu cheing e.* The form *ceint*, 'I sang', written in Hiberno-Saxon (i.e. pre-Norman) script was easily miscopied as *ceing*, see CA 207. *Neu* is an affirmative particle and the pers. pronoun *e* (= *i*) should be disregarded for metrical purposes, cf. 471, *Ni ddialaf* (Ms. *ni dialaf vy*); 472, *Ni chwarddaf* (Ms. *ni chwardaf y*).

484. *dilin.* Possibly for *dilyn*, 'to follow; following', see CA 207 and cf. *llinyn* > *llinin*, although WG 111 gives this as a 'later' vowel modification. Jackson, *God.*, 135, translates 'the following (?) day'. In *God.*, 50, Jackson suggests that 'the last sentence of th(is) verse could be a coda added by someone to claim authorship of the poem for Aneirin'. One wonders whether the claim made in lines 483-4 is related to the custom practised in the Irish bardic schools and described as follows by the Marquis of Clanricarde in his *Memoirs* published in 1722: 'The Professors . . . gave a Subject suitable to the Capacity of each class . . . The said Subject . . . having been given over Night, they work'd it apart each by himself upon his own Bed, the whole next day in the Dark, till at a certain Hour in the Night, Lights being brought in, they committed it to writing,' see D. Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland*, 74; *Bardos*, 78.

485. *Gwroledd.* Ms. *Goroled.* In CA 207 I. Williams discusses the possibility of reading *gorfoledd*, 'joy', but expresses a preference for *gwroledd*, lit. 'valour, bravery'.

486. *Llary fron.* The phrase has already been used in 383 to describe Cynon.

486. *'n ei eisyllud.* Ms. *ny essyllut.* The form *ny* is an abbreviation of *yn y* (= 'yn ei'), and as *llary* is also monosyllabic the line may be read as one of nine syllables in conformity with all the

other lines of the stanza. For *eisyllud*, 'nature', cf. 259. The word also occurs as *eisylud*, see CLIH 71; GPC 1202.

487. *mam nid ymddûg*. Ms. *nyt emduc mam*. The emendation is suggested in CA 209 in view of the rhymes in *-ug, -ud*.

489. *y cleddyf*. Ms. *e kledyf*. This could be read as 'ei gleddyf', in which case the alliteration *cl-, cl-* would be lost. There can however be no objection to reading the def. art. in a stanza which is probably late, cf. the note on 492 below.

489. *y'm hamug*. Ms. *e hamuc*. The emendation is suggested in CA 209, cf. 490, *y'm dug* (Ms. *em duc*).

492. *Cenau fab Llywarch*. A Cenau son of Llywarch Hen is recorded, see CA 210; CLIH xxx; EWGT 87. He would probably have been contemporary with Aneirin as his father was a cousin of Urien Rheged. It should be noted that line 490 states that he rescued Aneirin, rather than that he fought, and fell, at Catraeth. The statement in 247 that the poet escaped from the battle on account of his fair song should be compared with this assertion. Jackson, *God.*, 22, refers to stanzas 49 and 50 as containing 'an obscure and rather suspect episode'. See further *Ast. Hen.*, 139, for M. E. Owen's view that 'there seems to be no reason whatsoever for considering the stanzas as part of the original elegiac nucleus of the *Gododdin*', and that stanza 49 in particular may be 'a stray verse from a saga—perhaps a saga similar to the ones that developed about the persons of Taliesin and Myrddin'. Cf. the notes on 240 and 247. The rhymes *-ug, -ud* which characterize stanza 50 are, of course, pre-Gogynfeirdd, but were used for centuries after the supposed date of the composition of the original nucleus of the poem.

493. *Nid ef borthi*. Here *nid* negatives the positive statement *ef borthi*, in which *ef* is a pre-verbal particle and *borthi* a 3rd. sing. imperf. in *-i*, cf. 19, *ni bi ef a vi*; for *borthi* cf. 267, *ryberi*, etc.

493. *gwarth*. An unlenited accusative, cf. 403, *gormes*, etc.

493. *Senyllt*. According to the triad of the 'Three Generous Men of the Island of Britain' Nudd, the son of Senyllt, was one of the three, but in one version of the triad Senyllt replaces his son, see TYP 5, 508. The purpose of lines 493-4 is presumably to praise Heilyn's court by comparing it to that of Senyllt, with its mead-filled vessels, but lines 495-506 are almost entirely devoted to celebrating Heilyn's prowess in war.

494. *llestri*. Ms. *lestri*.

495. *Goddolai*. A variant of *gwaddolai*, 'gave, apportioned', etc., see CA 211; GPC 1544.

495. *i garedd*. Lit. 'for transgression, crime', etc., cf. GPC 425.

496. *lemain*. Lenited form of *llemain*. This could be either a variant of *llamu*, 'to leap', or an old plural of *llam*, 'a leap', see CA 212.

497. *Dyfforthai*. Ms. *dyfforsei*. The emendation is suggested in CA 212. Cf. 145, *Dyfforthynt lynwysawr*.

497. *o'i fraich*. Note the use of *o'i* for 'in his'.

498. *Deifr a Brynaich*. Ms. *ododin a breennych*. I. Williams argues in CA 212 that *ododin* was erroneously substituted for *deivyr*, echoing the phrase *Rhag byddin Ododdin* in lines 44, 113 and 378. For *Deifr a Brynaich* cf. 60. The reading *Brynaich* is required to sustain the rhyme with *fraich* in 497.

499. *fythfeirch*. Ms. *vythmeirch*. Cf. 13, *meirch mwth*.

500. *Gwyar*, etc. In view of the shortness of the line I. Williams suggests in CA 212 that the form *gwaywawr*, 'spears', could be added to it. Cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 135, 'swift horses, bloody spears, and dark-blue armour'.

501. *o'i law*. For *o'i*, 'in his', cf. 497.

503. *ymhyrddwen hyrddbaid*. The element *hyrdd-*, based on *hwrdd*, 'impulse, thrust', etc., GPC 1933, seems to carry the sense of 'alternation' or 'contrast, opposition', see CA 213; thus *hyrddbaid*, 'intermittent, occasional', GPC 1980. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 136, 'Smiling and smiling at random, and ceasing at times'. The entire line, as I. Williams suggests in CA 213, may be an explanatory gloss on the succeeding line, incorporated in the text of the poem.

505. *ddrych draed ffo*. A compound adjective. As *drych*, 'mirror, aspect, semblance', etc., is masc. the lenition of *draed* seems irregular.

506. *achubiad*. Lit. 'seizer, attacker'. Jackson, *God.*, 136, translates 'Heilyn who assaulted every borderland'.

507. *ei alon*. I. Williams suggests in CA 220 that *galon* could be a singular or plural form, but GPC 1373 gives it only as the plur. of *gâl*, 'enemy'.

507. *arf*. Ms. *araf*, see CA 220 for the emendation. The pers. pronoun *e(i)*, 'his', must be understood.

508. *Eryr*. Ms. *ery*. The emendation is suggested in CA 221.

508. *brwydrin*. Could be a noun, 'battle', or an adj., 'fierce', see GPC 336.

508. *tra chwardd*. Ms. *tra chuar*. I. Williams suggests the emendation in CA 221 in order to maintain an acceptable rhyme-scheme, *arf, -ardd, -arw, -arr, -ardd, -ardd*. He further suggests that *tra chwardd* could be regarded as a conj. + verb, 'while he laughs', but would prefer to understand *tra-chwardd* as an adjective. For the complete phrase cf. 404, *riau, rhyfel chwerthin*, and the references to laughter in battle in 67 and 74.

509. *Cwr*. Lit. 'a point', but here used adjectivally.

509. *ei fanceirw*, etc. For *bancarw*, 'antler', see CA 221; GPC 253. The plural is here apparently used for 'spears'. I. Williams, CA 222, treats *Bancarw* at the end of the line (Ms. *e vanncarw*) as a place-name, with the literal meaning of a jagged rock like the horns of a stag, but this is of course conjectural. Jackson, *God.*, 136, does not translate lines 509-12, which he describes as consisting of 'a number of obscure clauses'.

510. *Bysedd brych*, etc. Note the alliteration with *B-*, and the construction, plural subject + plur. verb, see GMW 181, and cf. line 276, *Beirdd byd barnant*.

511. *amddistardd*. Ms. *am distar*. The emendation is suggested in CA 223.

513. *Ys browys brys*. Ms. *ys bro ys brys*. The emendation is suggested in CA 223. In LIC vi (1961), 240, Eurys I. Rowlands omits *brys*.

513. *treuliodd*. Ms. *treullyawt*. Other possible readings suggested in CA 224 are *trew(y)llyawc* and *treillyawt*. For the former cf. *trewyll* in *Bardos*, 24.60, which R. Geraint Gruffydd translates as *difaol*, 'consuming'; for the latter see Davies, *Dict. Duplex*, on *treillio*, 'voluere'. Rowlands, loc. cit., reads *trewyllawd*, translating 'will . . . charge'. The line, however, appears to refer to the hero's liberality, see CA 224.

513. *Rhys*. Ms. *rys*. Presumably the hero celebrated in the stanza. As I. Williams points out in CA 224, no other hero is named. Rowlands, loc. cit., suggests that *rys* may be a common noun, 'pride'.

513. *yn rhodres*. Ms. *en riwdrec*, which does not rhyme with the two succeeding lines. The emendation is suggested by I. Williams in CA 224, with the alternatives (1) *rhwydd reg*, 'a gift freely given' (which again would not rhyme); and (2) *Rhiw Dres*, a place-name. Rowlands, loc. cit., reads *yn rhwydres*, 'very violently'.

514. *Ni hu wy*. Rowlands, loc. cit., suggests the reading *ni hunwy*, 'does not sleep'.

514. *gaffwy*. Ms. *gaffo*. The emendation is suggested in CA 224 in order to sustain the 'cross-rhymes' *wy, gaffwy, angwy, wanwy*.

516. *waned*. Ms. *wanpwyt*. The emendation is suggested in CA 225 in order to avoid a rhyme with *ysgwyd*.

517. *Ar Gynwal carnwyd*. In this line Cynwal is presumably the hero of the stanza, see CA 225, despite J. Lloyd-Jones's suggestion, G 262, that the reference is to a horse. The form *carnwyd* (Ms. *carnwyt*), possibly 'genial, kindly', see CA 225, is not attested elsewhere and not recorded in GPC 430. Lloyd-Jones, op. cit., 113 suggests that, if not a proper name, it may be an adj., 'hoofed', and points to *freichir* in 519 as a parallel.

518. *ddodes morddwyd*. Ms. *dodes y vordwyt*. The emendation is suggested in CA 225. Cf. CLIH 6.32a, *Mat dodes mordwyt*. The phrase *dodi morddwyd ar, dros* (*farch*, etc.) was used for setting forth on a journey, or to battle, etc., see CLIH 86.

519. *freichir meinllwyd*. The word for a 'horse' must here be understood. The Ms. reading for *meinllwyd* is *men—llwyt*, with an *i* written above the *men*. This couplet appears to be echoed in LIDC 14.10-11, *Mad dodes y mortuit/ar merchin march lluid*.

522. *Y mae dewr*. Ms. *y mae dy wr*. I. Williams, CA 226, suggests the omission of *y* and points out that this is the only example of *mae* in the Book of Aneirin. He also proposes the emendation of *dy wr* to *dewr*, 'the brave one, hero', or to *Dewr*, 'one of the Deirans', i.e. the English enemy. Jackson, *God.*, 137, translates 'Your man'.

522. *yn ei*. Could be read *'n ei*, cf. 486 and see CA 226.

525. *ymbell*. A variant of *ambell*, 'rare'. I. Williams, CA 226-7, interprets lines 522-6 as meaning that Cynwal has driven the Deirans into hiding where they subsist on poor fare, goat's flesh rather than beef. He further suggests the possible emendation of *o'i law* to *o'i logell*, 'in his bag, purse', and paraphrases the two final clauses in the stanza thus: 'may he rarely have gain in his purse'. Jackson, *God.*, 136-7, prefers to understand the four lines as meaning that 'Cynwal took part in an unlucky expedition on horseback and was forced to go on the run, which the poet hopes will not last long'. He adds that 'this would suggest an interpolation in the poem from some story about Cynwal's previous life.' This would place the stanza on a par with other stanzas in the poem which are not concerned with the battle of Catraeth.

526. *Da ddofod*. Ms. A reads *Da y doeth*, and B *Da dyuot*. In CA 227 I. Williams suggests the reading *dofod, dyofod*, 'a find, a prize, hap, treasure trove', of which *dyfod* is also a variant. Jackson, *God.*, 137, translates 'Good was the fortune', cf. I. Williams, loc. cit., 'hap dda'.

526. *a'm addawsud*. Ms. A, *atwen. ym adawssut*. I. Williams, CA 227, proposes the omission of *atwen*, but Jackson, *God.*, 137, translates 'I know'. Ms. B repeats *adonwy*.

527. *A wnelai Fradwen*. Ms. A, *wenn heli bratwen*. For *wenn heli* read *weneli* = *wneli* = *wnelei* in Ms. B, see CA 227-8 and cf. 46, *noddi*, etc. Bradwen has already been mentioned in 446 and 455.

528. *Morien*. Has already been mentioned, together with Bradwen, in stanza 45 (443). See also lines 366 and 373.

529. *Ni chedwaist*. The meaning probably is that Addonwy was an early casualty in the battle. He was not able to play his part in defending either the wing or the van of the Gododdin's host and did not witness the horsemen's charge, see CA 228; *God.*, 137, 'Addonwy did not live long enough to see himself avenged'. In ibid., 101, Jackson states that the stanza contains a reference to 'the warrior's "boast" before battle'.

530. *Ysgwn*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 137, translates '[Though your] eye [was] bold and not blindfolded'. B reads *ysgwn tref dy beuwel*, rejected as inferior in CA 229, and not translated in *God.*, 101.

531. *Ni welaist*. The B text reads *ny weleis or mor bwyr mor/ marchauc a vei waeth no od gur*. I. Williams points out, CA 230, that the two instances of the definite article (*o'r môr bwy'r môr*) are a late feature and that *no od gur* is corrupt, although a genuine reading different from that of the A text probably lies behind it.

533. *Cywyrain*. Lit. a verb-noun, 'to rise, rise up for battle', see GPC 724.

537. *gwyddw*. Ms. *gwyth*. The emendation is suggested in CA 240. Cf. 266, *Gorug wŷr llyddw a gwragedd gwyddw*.

537. *a wnaethant*. Cf. CA 240 where the substitution of the more archaic *gorugant* is proposed.

538. *Llawer mam*. The reference is presumably to the mothers of the enemy warriors, whose grief was a cause of satisfaction to the poet. It is also arguable that he was thinking of the mothers of the Gododdin. In CA 240 I. Williams paraphrases the sense of the couplet with the statement that 'the outcome ("ffrwyth") of the battle was widows and mothers' tears', but the extension of sympathy to the mothers of the enemy is unlikely in a poem such as *Y Gododdin*.

539. *O winfaeth a meddfaeth*. Ms. *O winveith a medweith*. For the confusion of the forms *gwinvaeth, gwinveith, gwinweith, meduaeth, medweith*, etc., see CA 150, 180, 240. Cf. line 245.

540. *neus*. Ms. *nys*. The emendation is suggested in CA 248.

540. *llaith ledgynt*. Ms. *lleith lletkynt*.

542. *Rhag Catraeth*, etc. Cf. 78.

545. In B the line reads: *O osgord mynydauc pan gryssyassant*.

546. The B text omits this line.

547. *yd gydfaethant*. Ms. B, *yt gynuaethant*.

548. The B text also omits this line. In BBCS x (1940), 136, I. Williams suggests 'enjoyed' as a translation of *amucsant*, but in *God.*, 140, Jackson claims that 'set their hands to' seems 'preferable'. See further CA 249.

549. *O osgordd Fynyddog*, etc. In the B text this line reads *o ancwyn mynydauc handit tristlavn vy mryt*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 106, 'My heart has become full of grief for the feast of Mynyddog'.

550. *A rhwy*. Ms. A reads *a rwyf*. The emendation is suggested in CA 250. Cf. B, *rwy e ry golleis*.

551. *O drychan riallu*, etc. Ms. B reads *o drychan eurdorchauc a gryssyws gatraeth*.

552. *nid atgorsant*. Cf. Ms. B, *nyt anghassant*, 'did not escape'.

553. *yng nghywyre yn bresent*. Ms. *yg kywyrein pressent*. The reading adopted is based on suggestions in CA 251; *in pressent* could also mean 'in the world'.

554. *ar ry-re*. Ms. *ar y e*. The emendation is suggested in CA 252.

555. *oni fai*. Ms. *ene uei*. Jackson, *God.*, 141, translates 'where the retreat (?) was', understanding *ene* as *yn y*, 'where, when', cf. 33, *yn y clywai*, see GMW 71. This construction is not, however, followed by lenition. If the line originally contained *ene* (= *yn y*, 'where') it meant that a retreat did not affect Cadfannan's behaviour in battle, cf. Breichiawl in stanza 21 who attacked

when everyone else fled. For *atre* see GPC 232, which gives the meaning 'return', cf. CA 252.

556. *amug*. Jackson, *God.*, 141, translates 'set their hands to', cf. *amucsant* in 548.

557. *Win*. Ms. *o win*. The omission of *o* is suggested in CA 252, cf. 548, *Gwin . . . amucsant*.

557. *yn niedyng*. Ms. *en dieding*. GPC 971 gives 'stubborn, resolute, faithful, hard', etc., as possible meanings for *diedyng*. In CA 252 I. Williams suggests that lines 556-8 could be read thus: *hut amuc Ododin/gwin a med en [Eidin]/dieding yng stryng stre*.

559. *o dan*. Ms. *adan*.

559. *Gadfannan*. For previous references see 48 and 435.

561. *Angor*, etc. CA 29-31 gives five variants, A, B, C, D and E, of this stanza. Their relationships, which are confused and complicated, are analysed by Jackson in *God.*, 103. The line *Angor, Dewr daen* is found in A, B, C and D, but not in E. For the description of the hero as an 'anchor' cf. Taliesin's reference to Urien as the 'land's anchor' (*agor gwlat*), CT 3.14; *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 1, 58. Cf. also 395, *angor byddin*, 'anchor of an army'.

561. *Dewr daen*. The B, C and D texts read *deor dain*. In CA 253-4 I. Williams discusses but rejects the view that *dewr* is the adj. meaning 'brave', etc., and refers to the form *Deur* found in the *Historia Brittonum* for the Deirans, see J. Morris, *Nennius*, 78, 79. Cf. the later form *Deifr* in line 60. *Deor* is an archaic spelling for *Dewr*. I. Williams describes the relationship of *Deur* and *Deifr* as a 'difficult problem', and in *Lang & Hist.*, 420, Jackson declares that the problem is 'not yet settled'. GPC 921 postulates a development *Dewr* > *Defr* > *Deifr*, influenced by the Engl. form *Deira*. In BBCS xxviii (1980), 547-52, J. G. F. Hind links the name to *dâr, deri*, 'oak'. *Daen* is the lenited form of *taen*, lit. 'a scattering', from *taenu*, 'to spread, scatter'.

562. *saffwy graen*. A reads *seri raen*, B *saffwy grain*, and D *saffwy graen*. C and E omit the line. In his note on *seri* in BBCS xi (1944), 149, I. Williams suggests that *sarph seri* in the A text is an echo of *Sarff seri alon* in 211. The terrible sting of the serpent, i.e. hero, is of course his spear (*saffwy*).

563. *Sengi wrmgaen*. For *sengi* cf. 46, *noddi*; 207, *gogyferchi*, etc. This line is omitted in the B text. In C it appears as *anysgocvaen*, and in D as *anysgoget vaen*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 104, 'the immovable rock in the forefront of the army'.

565. *Arth arwynawl*. Cf. 159, *Arth yn llwrw*. *Arwynawl* rhymes with *dreisiawr*, etc. Lines 565-73 are found only in the A text.

566. *Drwsiad*. Ms. *drussyat*. For the difficulties associated with this form see CA 255; *Et. Celt.*, iv, 12-13. If it is based on *drws*, 'door', it signifies a 'gate-keeper' (as in Jackson, *God.*, 141), i.e. 'defender'. GPC 1087 gives it under *drusiad*, 'warrior; one who provokes', ct. LIDC 166, *trussad*; EEW 95, 161. G 391 also gives it

under *drussyat*, but queries whether it should be under *t-*. In CA 255 I. Williams also suggests *trwsiad*, 'agitator', as a possible reading, based on *trws*, 'uproar'.

566. *dreisiawr*. Lenited from *treisiawr*, an adjectival form from *trais*, 'violence', cf. 102, *magl-awr*.

567. *sengi*. Cf. 563.

569. (*Yng*) *nghlawdd*. 'Rampart, mound', but here probably 'moat', cf. CA 256; Jackson, *God.*, 141.

570. *Ail Neddig*. For *ail*, 'second', 'similar to', cf. 269, *ail tith orwyddan*, and possibly 373, *ail Caradog*. Neddig (or Nedig) could have been the hero's grandfather or remoter ancestor, cf. CA 256.

571. *Neus dug*. Cf. 108, *neus goreu*. The infixed object pronoun *-s* anticipates *gwledd*, the object of the verb *dug*.

573. *O drydar drin*. In CA 256 I. Williams points out that here *trydar* and *trin* are practically synonymous.

574. *Cywir y'th elwir*, etc. The line is found, with variations, in A, B, D and E, but the reading here adopted is B's. A reads *kywir yth elwir oth enwir weithret*, and D *enwir yt elwir oth gywir weithret*. E repeats D's reading in more archaic orthography, *enuir ith elwir od giuir guereit*, and substitutes the noun *guereit* (= *gwreith*, 'deed', see G 708) for *weithret*. D's reading should also be emended to *(g)wreith* or *(g)weith* in order to sustain the rhyme with *kyuyeith* and *dileith* in the two succeeding lines. In CA 256 I. Williams endorses the reading *Enwir y'th elwir* at the beginning of the line, provided *enwir* is understood as *yn wir*, 'truly', rather than as *enwir*, 'false, unjust'. He points out, however, that in the B text the line occurs twice, commencing the first time with *enwir*, and then immediately afterwards with *kewir*, which 'also gives sense'. The line beginning with *enwir* ends with *gverit*, which suggests a relationship with the E text. What lies behind this variation is a matter of speculation.

575. *Rector rhwyfiadur*. The two words are synonymous, 'guide, leader, ruler', see CA 257. *Rector* is a direct borrowing from Lat. The A text reads *ractaf*, 'foremost', from the prep. *rhag*, but D and E have *rector*. For *rhwyfiadur* E reads *liuidur* = *?llywiadur*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 111, 'the helmsman'. C omits the line.

575. *cadfiled*. B reads *pob kiwet*, 'every people', and both D and E *pob kyuyeith*, 'every compatriot' (lit. 'speaker of the same language').

576. *Merin am Madiain*. A, *merin a madyein*; B, *meryn mab madyeith*. C has *garth merin*, but D and E substitute the name of Tudfwlch, already mentioned in 125, 129 and 147. *Madiain*, which also occurs as an adj. in Med. Welsh, probably meant 'fortunately born', see BBCS ii (1924), 122; Brynley F. Roberts, *Gwas. Meir*, 79; GPN 102, and this is echoed in the phrase *mad y'th aned*, which occurs frequently in other texts, cf. LIDC 18.77, *mab meigen, mad pan aned*. Cf. also the use of *ni mad* in the first and third lines of stanza 53.

577. *angor*, etc. This is preceded in the Ms. by *Aches guolouy glasvleid duuyr dias dilin*, which Jackson in *God.*, 103-4, describes as 'a corrupt long-line which probably does not belong' and translates: 'The bright flood, the grey wolf, the terrible following water'. I. Williams, CA 258, suggests that it was copied into the text from the margin of an earlier manuscript owing to the rhyme *dilin, byddin, Gododdin*, etc. He compares the line of weather-lore in an early *englyn, garv mir glau a uit hetiv*, LIDC 30.47.

578. *Anysgogfaen*. See above, 563.

580. *llewyr*. Ms. *leuir*. I. Williams interprets this as a plural of *llawer*, see CA 258, cf. *llewyn*, plur. of *llawen*, in 103. He also allows that it could be composed of *llaw*, 'low', and *gwŷr*, 'men', cf. 72 for *llaw* in this sense. Jackson, *God.*, 104, translates: 'There were bloodstained troops of horses and men'. There is nothing to correspond to lines 580-5 in the A, B, D or E texts.

583. *cŵn cyfarth*. Ms. *cw gyuarch*. The emendation is suggested in CA 259. Jackson, *God.*, 104, translates 'the swift hounds baying them', i.e. the men of Gododdin, but the 'hounds' must have been the Gododdin warriors themselves, cf. 191, *Trychwn*; 87, *aergwn*. In 328 *trychwn* refers to the enemy.

584. *Cyfwyrain barth*. Ms. *kywuyrein bard*. The reading *barth* is required by the rhyme with *tarth, garth*, cf. CA 259. *Parth*, here translated 'host', usually means 'part, region', cf. 303, *o barth Dehau*.

585. *Cymre tawd*. Ms. *kemre tot*. The rendering of this line is very conjectural. Jackson, *God.*, 104, merely translates, 'the defence . . .' For *cymre*, 'defence', see GPC 769. In CA 259 I. Williams compares *tot* with the Early Welsh form *Dinoot* (> *Dunawd*), see *Lang. & Hist.*, 729. If this is correct *tot*, as a spelling for *tawd* (< Lat. *totus*, cf. *Lang. & Hist.*, 307), is a very archaic survival. Alternative explanations suggested, however, are *cymretot* (?) or *cyfretor*, referring to the mist 'rising' before Garth Merin.

586. *garth Merin*. A place-name according to CA 259, but Jackson, *God.*, 104, translates 'the battle-square of Merin'.

589. *Ansgogedfaen*. Ms. *anysgoget vaen*. The reading *ansgoged-*, proposed in CA 260, gives a line of four syllables.

590. *Ym mlaen byddin*. The Ms. reads *blaen bedin*, lit. 'of the forefront of the army', which however makes the line short of a syllable.

591. *Arial*. Ms. *arall*. The emendation is suggested in CA 260. The form *aral* occurs for *arial* in LIDC 18.150 and 30.69.

592. *chymwy*. Ms. *chynnivyn*. The emendation is suggested in CA 260.

593. *Yn*. This is taken from the final syllable of the Ms. reading *chynnivyn* in the previous line, see CA 260.

593. *rhwy gobrwy*. Jackson, *God.*, 104, translates 'the meritor-

ious lord'. The phrase could also be understood ironically as 'an excessive gift', cf. *ced* and *cyflwyn* in 702 and 963.

594. *läin*. This word is disyllabic and rhymes with *bydd-in*, cf. 68, *Chwerw yn nhrin, â lläin yn ymddulliaw*.

595. *Cywir*. Ms. *enwir*, see on 574.

596. *cyfiaith*. Cf. 575, *cadfiled*.

597. *Tudfwlch*. Cf. 125, 129 and 147. Here Tudfwlch replaces Merin in 576.

597. *o ddylaith*. Lit. 'under bar', i.e. 'secure'. Tudfwlch is himself the unconquerable fortress, see CA 261. Jackson, *God.*, 104, translates 'the barrier of the fortress'. For *o* from *go*, 'under', cf. 767.

599. *Llawr*. Ms. *laun*. The emendation is suggested in CA 261. For *llawr*, 'ground', cf. 37.

599. *gyfachludd*. Ms. *ciuachlud*. GPC 673 gives this as a verb, 'hides, covers'.

601. *Llawrwr, lleiddiad*. Ms. *laun gwr leidyat*. I. Williams suggests the emendation of *laun* to *laur* in CA 262. In this line and in 605 *llawr* is used for 'champion', cf. 135 and 264, and ct. 599. *Llawr* seems here to be combined with *gŵr*, see GPC 2119 and LIH 269 for Llywarch ap Llywelyn's phrase *llawr wyr lleityeid*. Jackson, *God.*, 111, translates 'the man-slaying champion', thus apparently regarding *gwr + leidyat* as forming a compound.

602. *Llawen fyddad*. Ms. *laguen udat*, cf. CA 262.

603. *Stadal fleiddiad*. For the problems connected with the form *stadal* = *(y)stad(y)l* see CA 262 and cf. WG 17-18; Lew.-Ped., 93. *Bleiddiad* could be understood literally as 'wolfish warrior, fierce defender' or 'one who wards off the wolves', see GPC 285; CA 262. Jackson, *God.*, 111, translates 'was wont to be joyful like a wolf at his post'.

604. *lluarth*. The 'herb' in the translation 'herb-garden' should be understood in the broadest sense. A line in a poem in the Book of Taliesin refers to leeks in the *lluarth*, cf. 174, and see CA 263; BT 9. Jackson *God.*, 111, says that 'calling Tudfwlch "the herb-garden of the war-band" perhaps means that he provided or organised their feeding, but one suspects it is a looser and more general metaphor than that'.

606. *Cyn no'i ddallu*. Ms. *cinoidalu*, see CA 263. For the phrase *cyn no'i* cf. 57, 64, 266. *Dallu* is here used for 'to kill'.

607. *Cywir*. Ms. *enuir*, cf. note on 574.

607. *wraith*. Ms. *guereit*.

608. *llywiadur*. Ms. *liuidur*. The emendation is suggested in CA 263.

610. *Erddlyedaf*. The Ms. readings are A, *Ardyledawc*; B, *Erdil-edaf*. The reading adopted is proposed by I. Williams, CA 264, as a superlative of **erddlyed*, 'right', cf. GPC 1231.

610. *caffad*. B, *cafa*.

611. *Ein cedwyr*. A, *ketwyr*; B, *in cetwir*. In CA 267 I. Williams explains *in* as *ein*, 'our', but in the Introduction, p. lxix, suggests that it could conceivably represent a very early form of the definite article.

611. *ry-wnaeth*. A, *a wnaeth*; B, *ri guanaid*.

612. *Brithwe*. A, *brithwy*; B, *britgue*.

612. *adwyar*. A, *a wyar*; B, *ad guiar*. The form could be either *adwyar* or *addwyar*, see CA 264; G 9; GPC 30. The meaning 'blood-stained' can be attached to both *brith-* and *adwyar*, but cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 113, 'bloodstained chequered cloth'.

612. *sathar sanged*. *Sathru* and *sangu/sengi* are synonymous, 'to tread, trample'. Note the linking of lines 612/13 by the repetition *sanged/sengid*, cf. 611/12, *brithred/brithwe*.

613. *gwŷdd gŵnedd*. The 'trees of battle' were probably the warriors, see *God.*, 113; CA 265, the 'pillars of battle'. Cf. however 229, *O wŷr gwychyr gŵnedd*, and 622, *gŵr gŵnedd*.

614. *Dial. A reads bual*.

615. *cyfrynged*. A, *kyuirynged*; B, *cuiei riget*. Both form and meaning are conjectural, cf. CA 265; G 209. I. Williams suggests that we have here a form of *cyfryngu*, see GPC 721, 'to intervene; mediate, arbitrate; intercede; interpose', and that the *-i-* in the A form may be an infixed object pronoun. The earliest example given in GPC, however, is dated 1567. I. Williams suggests that the meaning of lines 614-15 is that, although the mead was liberally distributed, it was paid for with carnage, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 113, 'with corpses it was settled (?)'.

616. *Nis*. B, *nyt*.

617. *Cyfai cymun iddo*. A, *ket bei kymun*; B, *ceuei cimun idau*. In CA 265 I. Williams insists on the necessity of including *iddo* in the line. He also admits the possibility of reading *kymun/cimun* as *cyfun*, 'friend, comrade' (cf. also Lloyd-Jones, G 219, 240) but opts for *cymun*, 'communion'. Jackson, *God.*, 113, remarks that 'the last sentence seems to mean that he took communion before going to Catraeth, but was killed and therefore never received his "pay" '. For a similar statement see lines 71-3 and 82-3. D. Simon Evans, who regards all Christian references in *Y Gododdin* as late, merely notes in *Ysg. Beirn. X*, 43, that *cimun/kymun* are of doubtful meaning.

617. *ceffi*. A, *keui*; B, *ciui*. I. Williams, CA 266, explains this as either a 3rd. sing. imperf. in *-i* (cf. 46, *noddi*, etc.) or a verb-noun in *-i*. The clause *ceffi daered* is the object of the verb *adrawdd* in the previous line.

618. *Arddyledog*. Cf. 610, *Erddlyedaf*. In CA 264 I. Williams points out that the Ms. reading *ardyledawc* is acceptable as a medieval form but unlikely to be earlier, in view of the Irish *dliget* (= *dlyed, dylyed*). In *Arddyledog ganu* the *-g g-* > *c*, which alliterates with *c-* in *cyman*.

619. *Twrf tân*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 141, translates 'uproar, fire, and thunder and spring-tide'.

620. *marchog*. Ms. *varchawc*, but the reading *marchawc* is suggested in CA 267. The literal meaning is 'horseman of (the) turmoil'.

621. *Rhuddfedel*. This could also mean 'a host of bloodthirsty warriors' and the line be understood as indicating the hero's desire to be in the midst of the *rhuddfedel rhyfel*, the 'red reaping (i.e. bloodshed) of war'. For *medel*, 'reaper', cf. 171, 174, 301.

621. *eidduni*. A 3rd. sing. imperf. in *-i*, cf. 617, *ceffi*, etc. In CA 268 I. Williams suggests that the alliteration in the line could be enhanced by reading *ry eiduni*.

622. *difuddiog*. For this word, meaning 'tireless, vigorous', etc., see GPC 987.

622. *difyngi*. Ms. *dimyngyei*. The emendation, which is required by the rhyme, is suggested in CA 268, as is also the reading *dif-* for the sake of the alliteration with *difuddiog*. *Difyngi* is a 3rd. sing. imperf. in *-i*.

623. *O'r maint*. Lit. 'of all the, as many as'. The phrase contains the def. art., a late feature.

623. *ydd i clywi*. The phrase contains the obj. pers. pronoun *i* (Ms. *y*), 'it'. *Clywi* is a 3rd. sing. imperf., cf. *difyngi* in 622, and also *arfolli* (624) and *dylyi* (626).

624. *A'i ysgwyd ar ei ysgwydd*. The phrase was no doubt stereotyped, cf. LIDC 16.29, *Am yscud. ar wy isguit*. Jackson, *God.*, 141-2, translates lines 622-4 thus: 'the warrior, eagerly he hastened to battle in whatever land he heard of it, with his shield on his shoulder; . . .'

624. *arfolli*. Ms. *arolli*. The emendation is suggested in CA 269. The verb *arfoll(i)* normally means 'to receive, accept', etc. The translation 'he used to pick up (his) spear as readily as a glass of sparkling wine' is suggested in CA 269; cf. Jackson, *God.*, 142. For the 3rd. sing. imperf. ind. *arfolli* cf. *clywi* above.

624. *woyw*. Ms. *wayw*. GPC 1606 corrects the reading to *woyw*, the early form, which rhymes with *gloyw* in the next line. See further CA 269; CLIH 66, and cf. LIDC 21. 16-18, *gottoev, gvaev, gloev*.

625. *o wydr lestri*. Cf. LIDC 21.18, *yved gvin o guydir gloev; Y Cymmr.*, vii, 151, *Eryueis .i. win o wydyr gwyn* (= RP 584.4).

626. *Ariant*. i.e. silver goblets, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 142.

626. *dylyi*. Cf. *arfolli*, 624, etc.

628. *Erddlyedaf*. A, *Ardyledawc*; B, *Erdyledam*. Cf. 618.

628. *claer orchyrddon*. B, *i cinon cigueren*, clearly an error for *cyman cywraint* in 639, see CA 271. Jackson, *God.*, 113, translates 'of a skilful company' but I. Williams, loc. cit., recommends *claer orchyrddon* as the appropriate reading.

629. *A chyn*, etc. In B the line is preceded by *in guanth*, which should probably be omitted, see CA 271; *God.*, 113, where it is not translated. In A the line reads *a gwedy dyrreith dylleinw auon*, which Jackson, *God.*, 142, translates 'and after it has ebbed the river floods'. In the Ms. the (original ?) scribe has attempted to alter *auon* to *aeron*. In CA 270 I. Williams suggests that the A text represents an attempt to make sense of a line not understood.

630. *Rhifesid ei loflen*, etc. A reads *dimcones lovlen benn eryron. llwyt*, which Jackson, *God.*, 142, translates 'He glutted the grasp of grey eagles' beaks'. The B reading *rhifesid* is an old 3rd. sing. pret., cf. 265, *heesid*. B reads *ar pen* but the *ar* must be omitted if *pen* is to be understood as the subject of *rhifesid*. For the various meanings of *rhifo*, normally 'to count', but also 'to esteem, praise', see PKM 138; CA 272.

631. *Yn annwyd*. This is only found in the B text where the Ms. reading, though unclear, is given by I. Williams in CA 272 as *en anuit*. He further suggests that 'a word for a battle would be suitable here'. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 113, 'In frenzy'. GPC 146 gives 'passion, emotion, affection' as meanings for *annwyd*, but does not cite an instance earlier than the 14th-15th cent.

631. *sglyfon*. A, *ysgylvyon*; B, *sgliuon*. Jackson, *God.*, 113, translates 'carrion birds'. 'Beasts of prey' is also a possible meaning, cf. the reference in 62 to *cig blaidd*, 'wolf-feast'.

632. *Ar les Mynyddog*, etc. Here the A text reads: *or a aeth gatraeth o eur dorchogyon./ar neges mynydawc mynawc maon./ny doeth en diwarth o barth vrython./ododin wr bell well no chynon*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 142, 'Of all the wearers of gold torques who went to Catraeth on the expedition of Mynyddog, the lord of hosts, there came from among the Britons of Gododdin no man without reproach better by far than Cynon'. Despite their differences both the A and B texts refer to the *eur-dorchogion* at Catraeth and end with the praise of Cynon.

635. *seifogion*. A rare instance of an admission in early Welsh heroic verse that the enemy was prepared to stand his ground. The statement that 'those that had not fled were braver than were wise' in the 'Death-Song of Owain' ascribed to Taliesin may be compared, see *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 1, 62. Cf. also line 36, 'men who did not flee'.

636. *trais ganaon*. Ms. *treis canaon*. Here *trais* is genitive and *canaon* (= Mod. Welsh *cenawon*, etc.) would normally be lenited, see *Y Treigl.*, 32. It is uncertain whether the phrase refers to the Britons or the English, see CA 273.

637. *Brython*. A, *vrython*; B, *urython*. As *parth* is a masc. noun, CA 271 emends to *Brython*. Cf. however RM 134, *or dwy barth*; *Y Treigl.*, 97.

638. *o bell gwell*. A, *wr bell well*; B, *obell guell*. Both I. Williams, CA 271, and Jackson, *God.*, 113, 142, give this the meaning 'better by far'. Dr Bromwich however, *Ast. Hen.*, 156, prefers 'from afar', and is supported by P. MacCana in *Celtica*, ix, 324. I. Williams explains the phrase as a meiosis, which

emphasizes the fact that there was no one who approached Cynon in martial prowess. This is done by means of the understatement that *rarely* was there any one who was *much* better than Cynon. Cf. lines 19-20, 'There shall not be enmity between me and thee', as an expression of friendship.

638. *Cynon*. Cf. 209-10, *A ddyfu o Frython/Ŵr well no Chynon;* 246; 383; 390; 393, and the comprehensive discussion by R. Bromwich in *Ast. Hen.*, 151-64.

639. *Erddlyedaf*. A, *Ardyledawc;* B, *Erdiledaf*.

639. cyman cywraint. B reads *ciman ciguereint*, cf. note on 628.

640. *llogell*. In Mod. Welsh 'a pocket'. *Llogell* is a diminutive of *llog*, 'a place', and here refers in a hypocoristic sense either to Mynyddog's court or, perhaps more probably, to the court of Cynddilig Aeron, where the latter gave largesse to minstrels and was praised by them for his martial deeds. Cf. the sentiments expressed in stanzas 17, 29, 35 and 51.

640. *bu diddichwant*. B, at the end of the final line on the last page of its text, reads *bit budit did dr*. For *dr* I. Williams, CA 33, prints *di*. Jackson, *God.*, 142, translates 'he was not covetous [of it] (?)', but the sense of *diddichwant* is 'generous, liberal', cf. GPC 968. For *dichwant*, 'heedless', cf. *enaid ddichwant* in 546.

641. *yng nghylch byd*. Lit. 'around the circuit of the world'.

642. *medd feddwaint*. Ms. *med medweint*. The retention of the Ms. reading would accord with I. Williams's view that the text contains vestiges of archaic alliteration, see CA lxxvi-lxxxv; Jackson, *God.*, 55.

643. *o fid*. Ms. *o vyt*. In view of the occurrence of *byd* in lines 640 and 641 a third instance would perhaps be suspect in the same stanza. The emendation *mid*, 'battle', is suggested in CA 273.

643. *hoffeint*. This could be a noun, 'praise, pride', etc., see GPC 1886; CA 273, but is here taken to be a 3rd. plur. imperf. verb. Jackson, *God.*, 142, translates 'the praise of Cynddilig of Aeron by bloodstained men'.

644. *wŷr nofant*. Ms. *wyr enouant*. This is here taken to be the subject of *hoffeint*. I. Williams suggests the reading *nofant*, 'blood-stained', for *enouant* in CA 274.

Note the rhymes *-eint, -ant*, etc., in this stanza.

645. *Arddyledog*, etc. A repetition of the A text of 628.

646. *Ar neges*, etc. A repetition of the A text of 632.

647. *merch Eudaf Hir*. I. Williams suggests in CA 274 that the daughter of Eudaf the Tall was Mynyddog's wife, and this is endorsed by Jackson in *God.*, 142. The latter states that 'the context suggests . . . that she played some part in organising the expedition', but adds that Eudaf is unknown. An Eudaf is of course known in Welsh tradition, cf. Ifor Williams, *Breuddwyd Maxen*, 39; H. Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*, 70; G 496; EWGT 188. He is usually called Eudaf Hen ap Caradog but one genealogy in *Bonedd y Saint* refers to *Evda hir, y gwr a vv dwysawg ymlayn Kymry pann ayth gida Maxen wledic i Rvvain*, see EWGT 65. Some two centuries would, however, separate an associate of Maxen from Mynyddog's father-in-law.

647. *drais Gwanannon*. For Gwanannon see 414. Its oppressor was presumably Eudaf, rather than his daughter. It is perhaps not certain to which of the two the phrase 'clothed in purple' refers.

648. *dir amdrychion*. This phrase refers to *Gwanannon* in the previous line, while *borffor wisgiadur* refers either to *merch Eudaf Hir* or to *Eudaf Hir*. We thus have here an early instance of a particular parenthetic style, with interweaving cross-referencing, which was much cultivated in later Welsh verse.

649. *Ni phorthynt feiri*. The A reading is *Dyfforthes meiwyr*. I. Williams argues in CA 274 that the sense of the two readings is contradictory, but cf. Jackson's translations of the first line in each text: A, *God.*, 143, '[Even] cowards joined in the praise in the hall'; B, *God.*, 109, '[Even] the court-officers could not bear the [shouts of] praise in the hall'. The A reading is the only admission in the text of *Y Gododdin* that cowards were present in Mynyddog's hall. Note the plural verb with a lenited plural subject in B, and the sing. verb with a plural subject in A.

649. *molud*. The object is unlenited in both texts. For *molud*, 'praise', in the sense of 'clamour', cf. CLIH 155; BWP 164-5, where *ae gwna kyman medut a molut* is translated 'a multitude makes loud revelry'.

650. *Rhag trin*, etc. This line is only found in the B text.

651. *Tebyg*. A reads *baran*, 'fury', cf. 49, *ym maran*, but here meaning ' of the [furious] nature of', see CA 275.

651. *trwy gyneued*. A, *ban gynneuet*. *Trwy* is preferable, as providing fuller alliteration. *Cyneued* could be either a noun or a verb-noun, see CA 275, cf. Mod. Welsh *cynnau*, 'to kindle'.

652. *cain dudded*. A, *gwrym dudet*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 143, 'dark-blue armour'.

653. *bu chwerw*, etc. A, *perideint eu calch doet*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 143, 'their lime-white protective shields were got ready'.

654. *cenhadau amoded*. A, *bu diheu eu diuoed*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 143, 'their destruction (?) was certain'.

655. *cyfrifed*. B, *a ciuriuet*, but I. Williams, CA 277, suggests the omission of *a*. A reads *amdyget*, but I. Williams, loc. cit., proposes the substitution of the B reading. Jackson, *God.*, 109, suggests that the 'counting of the corpses' on Friday was anticipatory.

656. *difwrn*. B, *didurnn*. Here the A reading is preferable, cf. CA 277; Jackson, *God.*, 109, 'unrestrained'; ibid., 143, 'unrestricted'.

657. *adranned.* A, *amdyget*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 143, 'were plied (?)'. The B reading is preferred in CA 278. Jackson, *God.*, 109, states that 'the (doubtful) reading of A. 68 for Sunday need only mean at most that the battle began on Sunday and was finished on Monday'.

658. *gwaedlin.* A reads *gwaetlun*, and B *guaet lun.* GPC 1546 cites this (its only) instance from *Y Gododdin*, and translates 'bloody sight', but *gwaedlin*, 'flow of blood', would give better sense. The Ms. readings no doubt reflect the rhymes *Llun, clun.*

659. *Neus.* B here reads *nys* and A *neus.* The latter is to be preferred, cf. the note on 37. The three lines at the end of the stanza are a variant of lines 37-9 and do not belong here.

659. *gwedi lludded.* The B text reads *guedy lludet hir.*

660. *pan atgoried.* Lit. 'when there was a returning'.

661. *ddeled.* Ms. *delhet. Ni ddelai* (Ms. *eny delhei*) in 39 gives a cf. 650, which is only found in B.

661. *ni.* Ms. *ene.* For the emendation cf. 39.

661. *ddeled.* Ms. *delhet. Ni ddelai* (Ms. *eny delhei*) in 29 gives a better construction, but *ni ddeled* was required by the rhyme. As a form it is not commented on in CA 278 or recorded in WG 363 or GMW 135, but G 414 gives it (with a query) as an impers. imperf. subj.

662. *Moch*, etc. Ms. A, *Moch dwyreawc y more;* B, *Moch aruireit i more.* For *dwyreog*, 'rising', see GPC 1111, and for *arwyraith* ibid., 218. I. Williams points out in CA 279 that *arwyraith* could also be a 3rd. sing. pret. verb, 'he arose'.

663. *I gynnif â pheryf.* Ms. *icinim apherym. Icinim* could also be understood as *yng nghynnif*, 'in battle', or as *y cynnif*, 'he fights', cf. CA 279. A reads *kynnif aber*, based partly according to I. Williams, loc. cit., on a misreading of an earlier *aperim.* It should be noted that *cynnif* and *peryf* do not constitute a satisfactory rhyme, so that it is uncertain whether B preserves the original text of the line.

664. *cyfarth weirwiad.* Ms. *ciuarch gueir guiat.* I. Williams suggests the emendation *cyfarth*, 'stand at bay, resist', etc., for *ciuarch*, cf. a similar emendation in line 583. *Gweirwiad* is a noun based on *gwerw*, a variant of *chwerw*, 'bitter', meaning 'one who grows embittered', etc., see CA 280; GPC 1622. *Guero* occurs for *chwerw* in the Ms. text of 653. The A text of line 664 is *bu bwlch bu twlch tandde*, cf. Jackson's translation of A 663-4, *God.*, 143, 'in conflict before the boundary of the river-mouth, there was a breach, there was a fiery . . .'

665. *Yng nghynnor cad.* Ms. *ig cin or or cat.* Among other possible emendations I. Williams, CA 281, suggests the omission of the second *or.* The A text reading of this line is *mal twrch y tywysseist vre*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 143, 'Like a wild boar you led uphill'. There is no relationship between the A and B texts of lines 664-5, and A has nothing to correspond to 666-7.

667. *Yn yd gre.* Ms. *init gene.* The emended reading is proposed in CA 281 without comment other than the suggested translation 'where he pleases' and a reference to BT 31.24-5, *Beird llafar llucde. eu gwawt nym gre.* G 587 records this *gre* as a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. verb without offering a translation.

668. *golud.* The B reading preserves the older form, *guo lut.* See 467.

668. *bu lle.* Ms. A, *bu lle;* B, *bu lee.* For *lle*, 'sad, mournful', etc., see GPC 2122; CA 280.

669. *Bu gwanar*, etc. A reads *bu gwyar gweilch gwrymde. Gwanar* occurs as a noun meaning either 'lord' or 'war', and also as an adj., 'eager, ardent', etc., see GPC 1573; CA 87, and cf. 74, *chwerthin wanar.* Among the meanings of *gweilging* given in GPC 1609 are 'rod, branch, staff, spear; sometimes fig. of a woman or of a man; perch, roost, beam'. Jackson, *God.*, 143, translates the A text 'he was a blood-bath of dark-coloured hawks', but *gwalch*, plur. *gweilch*, occurs for 'hero', see GPC 1565, where this example is cited in that sense. Jackson, op. cit., 110, does not translate B's *gueilging gurym de. Gwrm* is normally 'brown, dark, black', etc., see GPC 1711; CA 91, and *-dde* a termination added to nouns and adjectives meaning 'of the nature, quality, appearance of', see GPC 1154.

670. Ms. A, *dwyreawc y meitin;* B, *aruireith imeitit.* Cf. 662. For *meitin*, 'morning', possibly from Lat. *matutin-*, see CA 281.

671. *Pan grys*, etc. Ms. A, *o gynnu aber rac fin;* B, *pan crs cinerein imidin.* Jackson, *God.*, 144, translates the A text 'after the sunset before the border by the river-mouth', cf. *cynnu*, 'set (of sun)', GPC 796, but I. Williams suggests in CA 282 that it could be an error for *cinim*, cf. *kynnif* in the A text, and *icinim* in the B text, of 663.

672. *O dywys*, etc. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 110, 144, 'following from outpost to outpost'. GPC 1015, however, records 'pursue' as one of the meanings of *dilyn.* Note the form *dilin* (Ms. *dylin*), rhyming with *myddin*, etc., cf. 484 and CLIH 197.

673. *cant.* Jackson, *God.*, 110, 144, translates 'a hundred men'.

674-7. *Oedd garw . . . ffysgiolin.* To correspond to these four lines, which are found only in the A text, B reads: *oed mor guanauc idinin/mal iuet med neu win*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 110, 'He was as greedy for corpses as for drinking mead or wine'. It will be noted that in the A text in lines 674 and 676 the hero is addressed in the 2nd. person plural, ct. 20-3, 231-8, 366, 400, 463, 526-31, 574-6, 595 and 607, in all of which the 2nd. pers. sing. is used. For *llew*, here possibly from Lat. *levis*, see the note on 201.

677. *Cleddyfal dywal.* The phrase was frequently used, cf. 296, 321, and CLIH 18.52; LIH 108.18 (Cynddelw).

678. *diachar.* Ms. A, *diachor;* B, *diachar.* Cf. 75, *trin ddiachar.*

679. *Yd laddai.* B, *yt wanei*, 'he struck'.

680. *Gwrhafal ym myddin.* A here reads *gwr haual en y bei.* The emendation is proposed in CA 283, where I. Williams also points out that *Gwrhafal* occurs elsewhere as a proper name. B reads *iud alt guanar gurthyn*, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 110, 'the . . . fierce overbearing lord'. For other conjectural interpretations see CA 284. In the text as here printed *esgar* is the object, and *Gwrhafal* the subject, of *laddai.*

681. *Disgynnwys*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 144, observes that 'there are many obscurities in this verse, but apparently when Ywain was killed his body fell in the river, and he was unable to fulfil his boasts ("intention")'. If *disgynnwys* is here correctly translated 'fell' it should be noted that the verb *disgyn* is more usually used in the sense of 'attack', cf. 232, 234, 402, 407, 412; 75, *disgyniaid*, 'attackers'.

681. *dra phen.* I. Williams, CA 284, suggests *ben draphenn* as a possible reading.

682. *Ni ddeliyd.* Ms. *ny deliit.* I. Williams suggests in CA 284 that *deliit* is a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. rhyming with *cywyd.* See GMW 119 on *eyt*, 'goes'; *perheyt*, 'lasts', etc. In this line *cywyd* is the object, and *cywrennin ben* the subject, of the verb *Ni ddeliyd*, cf. 95, 101, etc.

683. *Dysgïawr.* Ms. *disgiawr.*

683. *ar gangen.* As I. Williams points out, CA 284, the use of *ar* for 'with' is dubious ('ansicr'). *Cangen*, 'branch', here probably means a 'spear', cf. the similar use of *ceingiell*, a dim. of *cainc*, 'branch', in 501.

684. *Ywain.* Ms. *ewein.* The first stanza in the manuscript, printed after the 'Reciter's Prologue', is also an elegy for Ywain, see p. 3 and cf. line 27.

684. *ar ystre esgyn.* Ms. *esgynnv ar ystre.* The emendation is suggested in CA 284.

685. *Ystwng . . . gorau gangen.* Cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 144, 'bending a most excellent spear', and I. Williams, CA 284, ' "plygu" gwayw'. The verb occurs in WM 419.27, *estwg gvayw a oruc y blaynhaf o honunt a gossot ar ereint*, cf. *The Mab.*, 252, 'the foremost of them couched his spear and bore down upon Gereint'; COD *couch*, 'lower (spear etc.) to position of attack'.

685. *cyn gorod.* The form *gorod*, which according to GPC 1494 could be a verb or a noun, probably refers to the grave, cf. LIDC 7.12-14, *Kin myned . . . Ym gueinvod im gorod im gorwet.* The statement made is the conventional claim that before he fell Ywain performed deeds of valour, cf. 266, 279-80, 323-4.

686. *cathlau ddilen.* Lit. 'loss of songs', cf. CA 286. Six obscure lines have been omitted between 686 and 687, cf. *God.*, 144.

687. *Dysgïawr.* The same word as in 683 according to GPC 1149, despite the variation in meaning. CA 287 relates it to *dysgu.*

687. *pan fai bun.* Lit. 'when there was a maiden', no doubt a restatement of *Diffun ymlaen bun* in 32, but see p. lv.

687. *barn ben.* A reference to Ywain, cf. RP 584 19-20, *penn barn*, rather than to the unlikely contingency envisaged in CA 287 of a woman exercising the functions of chief justice in the Gododdin community. The description of the hero as 'head of judgement' is rare in *Y Gododdin*, which is almost exclusively concerned with the celebration of the warriors' pursuit of glory on the battlefield.

688. *iäen.* See GPC 1998, 'sheet or cake of ice', to which according to CA 287 the brightness or clearness of the shields bore a resemblance. This is endorsed by GPC, albeit with a suggestion that *Iäen* could be a personal name. This appears unlikely (unless the line derives from a different stanza) as Ywain has already been named as the hero.

689. *Gogyfoed gogyfergyr.* Ms. *gyuoet o gyfergyr.* The emended reading is proposed in CA 287-8.

689. *esgyn, disgyn.* The same antithesis is made in 234.

690. *aer dywys rydywys.* The line echoes 672, but here the first *dywys* is a noun, the second a verb with the prefix *ry-* probably indicating a past meaning. In earlier Welsh it would have read *rythywys*, cf. *Y Treigl.*, 365-6.

690. *ryfel.* Here 'to war', cf. *Ododdin* in 67, etc.; *Gatraeth* in 78, etc.

691. *garai.* The lenition of *carai* without a preceding *a* is unusual. An unlenited object, *gwrddfedel*, follows.

692. *Gwyrdd weryd.* Ms. *Gwrdweryt.* The emendation is suggested in CA 288.

692. *gwaed.* Used adjectivally according to CA 288.

693. *rudd.* I. Williams, CA 288, understands this as the lenited form of *rhudd*, 'red, crimson (i.e. garments)', rather than of *grudd*, 'cheek'.

693. *yd fedd.* Lit. 'has, possesses'.

694. *Seingiad am seirch*, etc. Note the *atroi*, or repetition in reverse order, in this line, and cf. the more elaborate example in one of the Taliesin poems, CT 4, *Annogyat kat diffreidyat gwlat/ gwlat diffreidyat kat annogyat.*

695. *ar ddelw.* Ms. *ardelw*, which could be read as *arddelw*, 'claim, avowal', etc., see GPC 186. I. Williams, CA 289, suggests the reading *ar ddelw* 'in the form or manner of', i.e. 'like'.

695. *dygïawr.* I. Williams, CA 289, hesitates between *dygiawr* = *dygir*, 'is brought', from *dwyn*, and *dy* + *cïawr*, cf. *dychïawr*, 'falls', 60. G 408 gives *dygïawr* as a variant of *dychïawr*, with the meaning 'falls' or 'fell'. Cf. also the plur. *dychiorant*, 142, and *rhagrygïawr*, 'racing forward', 388. Jackson, *God*, 145, however, translates 'Weariness like death is brought [upon the warriors(?)]'.

695. *lludded.* Note the *proest* with *cad*, etc.

696. yn *ais.* I. Williams, CA 289, states that this could be understood in one of three ways: (1) 'shattered', from *eis*, 'laths',

in which case the *yn* may be omitted; (2) spears embedded in shields, the plur. of *aes*; (3) spears in the warriors' sides or ribs, plur. of *asen*. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 145, 'spears in the ribs at the beginning of battle'. So also GPC 219.

697. *am leu*. Ms. *am oleu*. In CA 289 I. Williams suggested the emendation *anoleu*, 'hidden, obscure', cf. GPC 150. In CT 72, however, he proposed a different emendation, *amleu*, referring to the 'bright path' described by the spears as they were hurled through the air. In BBCS xxi (1965), 226, J. E. Caerwyn Williams accepts *am leu* as an emendation and suggests the meaning 'clearing, open land'. This is adopted by Jackson in *God.*, 144, with the additional comment that 'the last sentence seems to mean the hero was cutting his way through the press to where there was more space to manoeuvre'.

697. *peleidriad*. Ms. *beleidryal*. For the emendation see CA 289.

698 *Ceint amnad*. For *ceint*, 'I sang', cf. 483. *Amnad* is given as an adj., 'skilful, fine', in GPC 96, cf. G 24. I. Williams, CA 290, suggests the meaning 'famous', adding that some noun such as *cerdd* or *awen* may be missing from the text before *amnad*.

698. *amddifa dy gell*. Ms. *amdina dy gell*. For the emendation see CA 290. The rhyme in *amnad am ddifa d)y*, known as an *odl gudd*, 'hidden rhyme', (cf. CD 168 and 252), is paralleled by Taliesin's *Pan ladawd Owein fflamdwyn/Nyt oed uwy n)oc et kysceit*, see CT 12. Jackson, *God.*, 145, translates *dy gell* 'thy treasure-house'. It should be noted that lines 698-9 address the hero in the 2nd. pers. sing., cf. the note on 672-7.

700. *medd melys maglawr*. A phrase derived from 102, with the omission of *melyn*, 'yellow', which Jackson, *God.*, 145, however, includes in his translation. Cf. 745.

701. *Gwrŷs*. 'Assault, attack', the subject of *Dyrllyddai* in the preceding line.

701. *aergynglys*. Presumably the court of a champion on the English side. Jackson, *God.*, 145, states that the assault is 'ironically' called a handsome gift to the enemy. His court may have been at Catraeth but the stanza shows confusion in its apparent references to two courts or halls. For the 'handsome gift' cf. the 'gift' mentioned in 963.

702. *Lloegrwys liwedawr*. Ms. *lloegrwys lliwedawr*.

703. *Rhy benyd*. Note the use of a Christian term, cf. p. lvi.

703. *ar hyd ydd atawr*. Lit. 'as long as they may be allowed to remain'.

704. *Aillt Wynedd*. Clearly the hero praised in the stanza, despite Jackson's translation, *God.*, 145, 'His glory shall be heard of among the liegemen of Gwynedd'. Jackson has been misled by I. Williams's suggestion, CA 291, that the line could be read *Gan aillt*, etc. For *aillt*, 'subject, yeoman, vassal', etc., see GPC 73. G 459 gives this instance as sing. The reason for the lenition of *Wynedd* is not clear, cf. 381, *aillt Mynyddog*.

704. *clywer*. Identical in meaning with *clywir*, 'will be heard', cf. CA 290; YMTh 61, *guelher*. *Clywer* forms a half-rhyme with *Wynedd*.

705. *Gwanannon bid fedd*. For *Gwanannon* cf. 414 and 647. Commenting on the repetition of *bid fedd* in 709 I. Williams, CA 291, suggests that 705 may be a variant of 709 deriving from a corrupt copy. On the other hand it should be noted that both the couplet 704-5 and the four lines 706-9 make the standard conventional antithesis between praise of the hero's exploits and lament for his death, cf. 185-7, 279-80, 323-4, etc. The Ms. reading for *bid* is *byt*, cf. 709.

706. *Safwy*. I. Williams, CA 291, suggests that this could be an adj., 'steadfast', a noun *saffwy* (cf. 562), 'spear', or a personal name.

706. *cadafwy*. I. Williams, loc. cit., argues that this must be a personal name if *safwy* is understood as an adj. He compares *Cadafwy Gwynedd* with such names as *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, *Owain Gwynedd* and *Madog Elfed* (see 918). Both G 88 and GPC 375, on the other hand, understand *cadafwy* as an adj. (*cad* + *gafwy*), cf. Jackson, *God.*, 145, who translates the line 'the steadfast man of Gwynedd, lively in battle'.

707. *trais*. Lit. a noun, 'violence, oppression', cf. 647.

708. *cywest*. Ms. *kywesc*. The emendation is proposed in CA 291. Cf. 323, *cyn cystudd daear*.

709. *Bid orffin*. Ms. *byt orfun*. The emendation is suggested in CA 291. Literally *gorffin* meant the 'land beyond the border', see GPC 1483. The reference supports the view that the battle of Catraeth was fought at least some distance outside Gododdin territory, cf. CA 291; *God.*, 75.

713. *wrth gyfedd*. *Cyfedd* can mean a 'feast, carousal; fellow-carouser, companion', cf. CA 293; Jackson, *God.*, 146, 'at the carousal'. GPC 688, however, gives this instance of *cyfedd* as a v.n., 'feast . . . carouse together'.

714. *Mudyn geinion*. *Mudyn*, for *mudynt*, a 3rd. plur. imperf. verb, 'they neighed', is from Lat. *mutio*, 'to mutter, bleat', according to I. Williams, BBSC xiii (1950), 193, cf. *gnisynt* with similar meaning in 725. Jackson, *God.*, 146, translates 'white (?) [horses] snorted (?)'. I. Williams understands *geinion*, which shows lenition of the subject, as the plural of *can*, 'white', loc. cit., 194.

715. *Pobddelw*. This rare name occurs as that of a descendant of Cunedda in the eighth generation in the genealogy of the rulers of Dunoding in Gwynedd, see EWGT 11; cf. also ibid., 108, *Gwehelyth Ardudwy*. I. Williams, CA 294, estimates that this would give Pobddelw a dating of c. 610-40. Jackson, *God.*, 21, is uncertain whether Pobddelw, 'who would probably have been very young about 600', could have been a member of the expedition to Catraeth, but adds, ibid., 145, that 'the anonymous hero of the

verse might be said to have harmed his (i.e. Pobddelw's) land by getting killed, along with his men'.

716. *or a chynnor.* Ms. *mor a chynnwr.* The emendation is suggested in CA 294. Lines 716-20 probably derive from a different stanza, cf. CA 294.

718. *yn arswyd.* Ms. *en assed.* The emendation is suggested in CA 295. Jackson, *God.*, 146, does not translate *assed*, which is unknown in any other text and does not rhyme.

720. *fflamddur.* As suggested in CA 296, this could be a personal name, cf. *Fflamddwyn*, leader of the English according to the Taliesin poems, CT 6.15, 12.11.

721. *Cyfarfu*, etc. This stanza is a variant, in older orthography in the Ms., of 74, but apart from line 715 (= 726) the variation is considerable.

722. *Du leiddiad*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 111, 'the black slayer'. For the use of *du*, 'black', in such senses as 'angry, bitter, wicked', etc., see GPC 1097. The slayer here is presumably the hero of the stanza.

723. *achyhoedd a chyherw.* Ms. *ac cihoit ac i hero.* The reading adopted is suggested in CA 292, cf. Jackson's translation, *God.*, 111, 'he was not without repute nor an outlaw'. The statement is a litotes and means that the hero was an eminent and prominent person, cf. lines 19-20, 638.

724. *Erf.* Ms. *hero.* I. Williams suggests in CA 293 that this could be a personal name. Jackson, *God.*, 111, does not translate.

724. *chweg chwerw.* A 'bitter-sweet' drinking companion was presumably one who was not fickle and inconstant or alternately amiable and disagreeable, cf. CA 293.

725. *Gnisynt gweilwion.* Ms. *gnissint gueuilon.* Cf. 714, *Mudyn geinion*, perhaps a later variant, see CA 293; BBCS xii (1950), 193. In both cases a word for 'horses' must be understood with the adj.

726. *Pobddelw.* Ms. *bot ero*, cf. 715 and see CA 293; Jackson, *God.*, 111.

727. *tarw trin.* Cf. 707, *Tarw byddin, trais trin.*

728. *llyfrddelw.* Ms. *liuirdelo.* Jackson, *God.*, 111, does not translate, and I. Williams, CA 297, suggests the reading *Llwyrddelw* as a personal name, cf. *Pobddelw, Cynddelw.* If we read *llyfr-ddelw*, however, the first element of the word may be related to the Old Breton glosses *libiriou, ho-libr* in which *libr* means 'poli, glissant, rapide', see Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des Gloses en Vieux Breton*, 242. Cf. also Ernault, *Glossaire Moyen-Breton*, 365, and Fleuriot, ibid., for Welsh *llyfr*, 'what drags, the heel of a drag'; I. Williams, CA 286, for *llyfr carr*, 'runners', beneath a *car llusg*, a 'drag or sledge'.

729. *Mynog.* Ms. *Mynawc.* There is no means of knowing to whom this refers. I. Williams suggests, CA 298, that *Mynydawc* would be a possible reading but, as Jackson points out in *God.*, 146, it is very unlikely as there is no evidence that Mynyddog fell at Catraeth. *Mynog* can be understood as a noun in 729, and as an adj. in 730. Jackson, loc. cit., translates 'the courteous one' and 'courteous' respectively.

729. *traethiannor.* Ms. *traeth e annor.* For the verb-noun *traethiannu*, based on *traethu*, cf. *moli, moliannu; meddu, meddiannu*, etc., see CA 299. The phrase *traethu traethaud* is used in LIDC 12.25 for 'to sing a poem'.

730. *cwyniador.* Ms. *kwynhyator.* Cf. such forms as *kenitor*, 'is sung'; *gwelitor*, 'will be seen', etc., GMW 120-1.

731. *arial fflam*, etc. This is here taken to be a metaphorical description of the hero of the stanza, but Jackson, *God.*, 147, translates the entire line 'With the fury of flame, he did not retreat in front of Eidyn'. CA 299 treats *atgor* as pres. or fut. Cf. G 45 and GPC 229 for the meaning 'return' rather than 'retreat'.

732. *ei ddilys.* The adj. *dilys*, lit. 'true, genuine, certain', is here used as a noun, 'reliable or chosen warrior', see GPC 1016, and is probably plural.

734. *arial.* A noun in 731, but here an adj., 'vigorous, lively', see GPC 203.

735. *Can llewes*, etc. Cf. 232, *Can yfaist, disgynnaist.* Having partaken of the feast, the warrior fulfilled his obligations.

737. *amddiffryd.* Ms. *amdiffryf.* The emendation is proposed in CA 300. Other possible meanings suggested by I. Williams are 'dripping' (with blood), and 'defending'. GPC 83 adopts the latter, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 147, 'brandishing his weapon'.

739. *traethiennyn.* Ms. *traeth y ennyn*, cf. 729, *traethiannor.*

740. *las.* Ms. *glas.* The lenited form gives better alliteration, cf. CA 300.

741. *periglyn.* Ms. *preiglyn.* The emendation is suggested in CA 300.

741. *pen* Ms. *benn.* An initial *p-* is no doubt intended in each of the five words contained in the line. Cf. 510-12.

741. *periglawr.* The reference is presumably to Moried, but the translation is conjectural. *Periglor* also means a 'priest, confessor, parson, incumbent', see CA 300-1 for suggested derivations.

743. *rhag.* Ms. *trach.* CA 301 emends to *rac.*

744. *Pan orfydd.* Lit. 'when he prevails, conquers'.

744. *o'i gad.* For *o'i* meaning 'in his' cf. 497, 501, 524.

745. *A'n dyrllys.* Jackson, *God.*, 147, translates 'He deserved'. *Dyrllys* is probably 3rd. sing. pres. ind., but the construction is not clear, cf. CA 302.

745. *medd melys maglawr.* A repetition of the phrase in 102, cf. 700.

748. *ei law.* Ms. *y lu.* The emendation is suggested in CA 304.

749. *gwrfan.* GPC 1708 suggests that this could be a personal

name. The hero praised in the stanza is, however, Cynddilig Aeron, named in 755.

749. *gwanan.* For the loss of final *-t* cf. 739, *Dyfforthyn, traethiennyn;* 741, *periglyn.*

752. *llu.* Ms. *gwlat.* I. Williams, CA 305, suggests the reading *llu* to rhyme with *disgynnu, rhiallu.*

753. *gorddygnaw.* Ms. *gordiynaw.* The emendation is suggested in CA 305, and accepted in GPC 1473, where the meanings 'to defy, provoke' are given for *gorddygnaw.* Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 148, 'to provoke them'.

754. *Caraf.* Ms. *Caraf vy.* A vivid pres., cf. 749, *gwanan.*

754. *lleithig.* A seat on the *lleithig* was a position of honour, cf. 384, *yn nhâl lleithig,* and see CA 173.

755. *Cynddilig Aeron.* Cf. 644.

755. *lew.* Jackson, *God.*, 148, translates 'the lion', understanding *lew* as a lenited form of *llew,* not of *glew.*

756. *Caraswn.* Note the repetition of this word in 758 and 760.

756. *ddisgynnu ... gysefin.* Cf. 407, *Disgynsid ... yng nghysefin.*

757. A repetition of 408.

758. *ni chablwys ar lläin.* I take this clause, with 'him' or 'the one' understood, to be the object of *Caraswn.* Jackson, *God.*, 148, translates 'I should have liked him to find fault with the spear', explaining 'to find fault with the spear' as 'not to have been so pugnacious'. It is, however, a typical litotes for the warrior's delight in his own exploits, see CA 305. The Ms. reading is *neu chablwys,* etc., but the emendation *ni* is suggested in CA 305.

759. *o'i las Uffin.* Uffin was probably an area or territory, cf. CA 306. For *o'i,* 'in his', cf. 744. Jackson, *God.*, 148, however, translates '[far (?)] from his green Uffin (?)'.

760. *ail clod,* etc. Jackson, *God.*, 148, translates 'the man of famous race who endured bloody slaughter'. GPC 69 gives 'race' as a possible meaning for *ail.* For *dyfforthi* in the sense of 'produce, cause, bring about, inflict' see ibid., 1114. In *gwaedlin* the object is unlenited.

761. *yng ngoeithin.* For *goeithin,* 'wild, fierce', see GPC 1428 and CA 154, cf. 300, *â llafn fraith oeithin.* Despite the nasal mutation (Ms. *yg goethin*) the form should probably be understood as an adj., cf. the discussion of *yn nyblyc, yggwyllt,* etc., by T. J. Morgan in *Y Treigl.*, 245.

762. *Nis adrawdd.* Ms. *neus adrawd.* The emendation is suggested in CA 306. For the construction of the couplet cf. 461-2, and also 253-4 and 261-2.

762. *gwryd.* Lit. 'valour'.

763. *mab Ceidio.* According to the Myrddin legend Gwenddolau ap Ceidio, who fell at the battle of Arfderydd c. 573, was Myrddin's lord and patron, see *Ast. Hen.*, 336; TYP 379. The early genealogies give him two brothers, Nudd and Cof, and

Jackson, *God.*, 21, argues that it would 'be chronologically possible that one of these was the "son of Ceidio".' Similarly R. Bromwich, TYP 307, suggests that the reference 'could be to a younger brother of Gwenddolau, who fell at Catraeth'. A similar suggestion was made in CA xlii by I. Williams who, however, added the reminder that Mynyddog's retinue consisted of 'youths, not old people'. Assuming that Gwenddolau was about twenty-five when he fell at Arfderydd, a younger brother of his aged fifteen would have been over forty by the time of the battle of Catraeth, c. 600.

763. *clod.* Jackson, *God.*, 148, translates 'the famous son of Ceidio'.

764. *gennyf.* Ms. *gennyf vy.* The affixed pronoun is ignored in the metre. See CA 306 on *an gwyr ny* in line 999 of the CA text.

764. *lludded.* i.e. the toil of battle.

766. *gennyf.* Ms. *gennyf vy,* cf. 764. In this line it is uncertain whether *trwm* is to be understood as an adj., 'heavy', or a noun, 'grief'. Normally *truan* is used as an adj., 'sad, grievous'. With 764 and 766 cf. YMTh 57 (LIDC 1.1), *Mor truan genhyf mor truan.*

767. *ein gwŷr.* Ms. *an gwyr ny.* See 764.

767. *o draed.* Lit. 'under feet', with *o* a lenited form of *go* 'under', cf. 597 and see GPC 1416; CA 306. *Draed* is disyllabic and rhymes with *gweled,* etc.

769. *Yn ôl gwŷr pybyr,* etc. With this line cf. 352, *Yn ôl gwŷr pybyr tymyr gwinfaeth.*

769. *tymyr tydwed,* Jackson, *God.*, 148, translates 'the clodded earth'. For *tydwed,* 'clods, earth, land', see CA 307. The Ms. reading is *tudwet.*

770. *Rhufon.* Rhufon Hir is praised for his generosity in 362.

770. *Gwgon, Gwion.* Both are mentioned in 342.

770. *Gwlged.* Ms. *gwlyget,* in which the *-l-* is inserted above the line. For this hero and his name see the note on 353. The *-y-* is probably epenthetic, cf. GMW 12; WG 17; Lew.-Ped., 93, despite the fact that these authorities do not give an instance of *-lg- > -lyg-.* Note the rhymes *tydwed, Gwlged, caled.* If the form *Gwl(y)get* was based on a misreading of an earlier *Gwlgot,* as is suggested in CA 166, the line, and probably the stanza, may be regarded as late. In G 694 Lloyd-Jones refers to the forms *gulcet, gulecet, guolicet,* which occur in the Book of Llandaf, but suggests that they may represent a different name.

771. *gorsaf wriaf.* Cf. 98.

772. *Ys deupo i'w henaid.* Ms. *ys deupo eu heneit wy.* I. Williams, CA 308, suggests reading *eu* as *yw, wy = i'w,* 'for their'. For the omission of the affixed pronoun *wy* cf. above, 764, 766, 767, and for *ys deupo* see the note on 315. Here, however, *ys* may be a mere particle. In *Ysg. Beirn. X,* 38-9, D. Simon Evans notes the use of *enaid* in this line for 'soul' rather than the usual

meaning 'life', cf. 223, *a werthws ei enaid*; 340, *gwerth eu gwledd o fedd fu eu henaid*; 546, *enaid ddichwant*.

773. *Cynnwys yng ngwlad nef*. The entire couplet should be compared with 315-16 and 325-6, see D. Simon Evans, op. cit., 41. The phrase *wedi trined* in 772, however, adds a further dimension to the content of the couplet, although the notion that valour in battle may be rewarded in heaven is not as explicitly stated here as in 238.

773. *addef afneued*. Cf. 316, *addef adnabod*.

774. *Ef gwrthodes tres*, etc. Cf. line 52, *Ef gwrthodes gwrŷs, gwyar*, etc. For *tres*, an unlenited object (cf. *gwrŷs*), probably related to Ir. *tress*, 'battle', see CA 308. Jackson, *God.*, 149, translates 'He drove back the conflict'.

775. *fal dewr*. Lit. 'like a valiant one, a hero'.

775. *dull*. Again an unlenited object.

775. *ni dechyn*. Ms. *nyt echyn*. Cf. 36, *ni dechai*, where the Ms. reading is *nyt echei*. In *ni dechyn* the verb is plural while referring to a collective antecedent (*dull*), but in *ni dechai* the singular verb refers to a plural antecedent (*gwŷr*).

776. *ysgedd*. Ms. *ysgeth*. Cf. *ysgedd*, translated 'appearance' in 46. Here Jackson, *God.*, 149, translates 'in style (?)'.

776. *taflai*. Ms. *tavlet*. The emendation is suggested in CA 309. Note the play on the forms *Tafloyw, taflai*, and the use of *taflai* in a different sense in the following line.

776. *o fedd*. Ms. *a med*.

778. *Mynid*. Ms. *Menid*. For the possibility that this contains the *-myn-* found in *amynedd*, earlier *anmynedd*, see CA 309. Jackson, *God.*, 143, translates 'His advice was waited for (?)'.

778. *lleferid*. Ms. *lleveri*. For the emendation to a 3rd. sing. pres. ind. in *-id* see CA 310.

779. *Ac fai*. Cf. LIDC 5.5, *Ac vei gyuerkinan*, for which H. Lewis in HGCr 126 suggests the emendation *Atuei*.

779. *endewid*. Ms. *edewyt*. The emendation to a form of (*gwar-*) *andaw*, 'hear, listen', is suggested in CA 310. A rhyme with *lleferid* is required and the conditional imperf. *endewid* suits the sense better than the past *endewyd*. Jackson, *God.*, 149, translates 'if it [i.e. the counsel] had been cruel it would not have been allowed', understanding *edewyt* as a form of *adaw*.

780. *bwyellodau*. Ms. *bwyllyadeu*. A form *pwylliad*, 'intent', based on *pwyll*, 'thought', occurs in 114. The emendation to a form based on *bwyell*, 'axe', however, is suggested in CA 310. See GPC 358 on *bwyellod, -au*.

780. *a chleddyfawr*. In CA 310 I. Williams suggests the reading *a chleddyfawr hir*, to rhyme with *lleir*, but nevertheless points out that *hir* is not used elsewhere in *Y Gododdin* to describe swords. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 149, 'long sharpened swords'.

781. *gwelid*. Ms. *gwelir*. The emendation is suggested in CA 310. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 149, 'a noisy feast'.

781. *lleir*. The meaning 'is read' is hardly suitable. I. Williams, CA 310, speculates whether a form related to *di-leaf*, 'I destroy', etc., would be feasible. Jackson, *God.*, 149, does not translate. GPC 2122, however, gives this instance under *lleaf*, 'I read'. I. Williams, loc. cit., also suggests that *handit gwelir/llavar lleir* could be the opening couplet of the following stanza, which is composed of lines of four syllables.

782. *Porthloedd byddin*. Cf. line 1050 (*Gorchan Tudfwlch*).

783. *Porthloedd läin*. *Porthloedd* is here taken to be in the genitive. In 782 the hero praised is the 'haven', but in 783 he is the 'spear'. Ct. Jackson, *God.*, 149, 'The haven of the army, the harbour of the spear (?)'.

784. *A llu rhagwedd*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 149, translates the couplet, 'with a supreme host in a privileged position'.

788. *wythog*. Ms. *gwychawc*. The emendation is suggested in CA 311. For *(g)wychiawg* see 257.

792. *gorwylam*. Jackson, *God.*, 149, translates 'success (?)'. GPC 1507 proposes a derivation from *gor* + *gŵyl* + *llam*, 'very happy or lucky fate', but I. Williams, CA 145, suggests *gorwy* (= *goreu*) + *llam*. For *gŵyl*, 'joyous, glad', etc., see GPC 1760, and for *llam*, 'leap; attack; destiny', ibid., 2091.

793. *Yn nydd*. Ms. *enyd*. Cf. 786.

793. *ffrwythlam*. Jackson, *God.*, 149, also translates 'the mighty charge'. GPC 1320 gives the meaning 'fate, success, successful venture'. For *ffrwyth*, 'strength, energy', see ibid.

794. *Pan adrodded*. Ms. *pan adroder*. The emendation is proposed in CA 311. Jackson, *God.*, 149, takes the phrase as introducing a report in indirect speech, 'when it was told that an assault of men and horses was broken'.

795. *ergyr*. Possible meanings are 'thrust; attack; host', see GPC 1234; CA 312. Cf. 404, *Ergyrwayw*.

797. *Tyngyr dynged*. Ms. *tyngyr tynget*. Despite the apparently successful attack the stanza ends with a reference to the fall of the hero, Tyngyr. Jackson, *God.*, 149, however, states that 'apparently Tyngyr was killed in an unsuccessful cavalry charge'.

799. *pryder*. In CA 312 I. Williams suggests reading *prydydd* instead of *pryder*, but also points out that *dyf-ydd, pryd-er* could be regarded as a *proest*.

800. *fraw*. Ms. *fun*. The emendation is suggested in CA 312. Jackson, *God.*, 150, does not translate this line. Cf. *ffun* (Ms. *fun*) at the beginning of 801.

802. *Arial rhedeg*. Lit. 'having the nature of running', cf. CA 312.

807. *Argoedwys*. According to Jackson, *God.*, 149, the Argoed referred to in the name 'is very likely the unidentified Argoed Llwyfain of the Taliesin eulogies on Urien, somewhere in Rheged'. GPC 199 is less specific: 'in the old North'. There was also an Argoed in Powys, see CLIH 101, and 38 where Cynddylan

is described as *callon Argoetwis*. With the sentiment expressed in 807-9 cf. the statement in Taliesin's *Gwaith Gwên Ystrad* that 'battle is sure to be the lot of him who is Urien's soldier', see CT 38; *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, vol. 1, 59.

811. *Ar lluydd pwys*. In CA 313 I. Williams discusses various possible emendations, such as reading *llwyth* or *llwydd* for *lluydd*, and *pres* or *peues* for *pwys*. The latter form fails to rhyme with *dodes* although the phrase *dodi pwys* gives a satisfactory meaning. Jackson, *God.*, 150, translates 'well did he attack the hosts of the country'.

813. *Ar ddilyfn goed*. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 150, 'the bristling wood [of spears]'.

814. *Ar ddilyw hoed*. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 150, 'the grievous flood [of the enemy]'.

816. *Cyfedd wogant*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 149, translating 'Disposing the banquet', suggests 'that Geraint was a sort of Master of Ceremonies in Mynyddog's hall'.

818. *Ar*. In the sense of 'to', see GPC 173; CA 314.

820. *A llyn*. In CA 314 I. Williams suggests inserting either *a llyn* or *a gwin* between *gwyn* and *gosgroyw*. Even then a line of four syllables appears to be missing. Lloyd-Jones, G 579, emends *gosgroyw* to *gosgoyw*, which Jackson, *God.*, 149, adopts, translating 'to the reclining (?) [seat covered with] white fleece'.

821. *rhag Dehau*. Cf. 303, *Isag . . . o barth Dehau*, and the note thereon. I. Williams, CA 314, suggests that Geraint was from Devon, and R. Bromwich, TYP 357, claims that 'there is no reason necessarily to dispute' his identity with Geraint the son of Erbin 'who may have been born between *circa* 570 and 580'. She translates line 821 'Gereint for the South—the shout was given', which at best is ambiguous. If, however, *Dehau* means 'the men of the South' it is nevertheless difficult to believe that, given the conditions of the late sixth century, Geraint ab Erbin led a troop of warriors from Devon to Gododdin in response to an appeal from Mynyddog Mwynfawr. As Jackson argues, *God.*, 128, *Dehau* probably refers to areas in northern England less remote from Gododdin territory. In any case, if Geraint ab Erbin was one of the men who went to Catraeth he would have fallen in battle as a very young man, and this would not accord with his later fame as a Devonian hero. A poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen refers to his participation in the battle of Llongborth, but its most recent editor treats it as a eulogy rather than an elegy, see Brynley F. Roberts in *Ast. Hen.*, 289, 295; LIDC p. 49. See further Jackson, *God.*, 149-50; *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*, ed. Grout, Lodge, Pickford and Varty, 106.

822. *gwyn ddull*. Ms. *gwynn dwll*, cf. CA 314.

822. *ysgwyd*. If this could be read as *ysgud* (< Lat. *scutum*, parallel with *ysgwyd*, WG 141) it would rhyme with *molud*, etc. In LIDC 38.23 *iscvd* is found rhyming with *escud*.

824. *göwn ei eisyllud*. Ms. *gogwneif heissyllut*. For the reading see CA 315.

825. *Göwn i*. Ms. *gwgynei*, cf. CA 315. Jackson, *God.*, 150, translates 'I know [you] generous Geraint', taking *hael* with *Geraint*.

827. *yng nghyman*. Jackson, *God.*, 150, translates 'in the conflict'.

829. *Trinoddef*. Lit. 'battle-intending, -purposing', see GPC 1425, *goddau, goddef*. Jackson, *God.*, 150, translates 'Steadfast in battle'.

829. *Eiddef*. The name *Eitew* (= *Eiddef*?) occurs in the 'Stanzas of the Graves' in the Black Book of Carmarthen, LIDC 18.140. For the name in Wales see BBCS vii (1934), 272; T. Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves" ', PBA vol. LIII, 110.

830. *Rhagorai feirch*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 150, translates 'he led the horses, very swift in fight'. Cf. 360, *Rhagorai, tyllai trwy fyddinawr*; 388, *Rhagfuan ei feirch, rhagrygïawr*. If the line were read *Rhagorai (e)i feirch . . .*, it could be translated 'His swift horses were first in battle'.

832. *glasfedd*. Lit. 'green grave'. *Glas*, however, also carries such meanings as 'young, early, new, fresh', see GPC 1402.

832. *ei*. Ms. *eu*. The emendation is proposed in CA 315.

833. *medd mygr*. Possibly 'clear mead', see CA 63.

834. *Dihenydd*. The A text here reads *Dienhyt*, which I. Williams, CA 316, suggests could be from *diannod*, cf. GPC 148, *anodi*, 'to postpone, defer, delay'. GPC 1007, however, cites *Dienhyt* under *dihenydd*, 'death; destruction', etc.

834. *llawr*. Could also mean 'ground', see CA 316. Jackson, *God.*, 100, translates the line 'A destructive flood in every lowland'.

834. *llanwed*. Either a verb or a noun, see CA 316; cf. Jackson, loc. cit., who treats it as a noun, 'flood', and see GPC 2096.

835. *hual*. B, *haual*. The translation of this line is very conjectural. For various possibilities see CA 316-17, where the suggestion is made that the reference is to the prisoners the hero kept in his chains or fetters.

835. *amhafal*. B, *amhal*. Literally *amhafal afneued* = 'similar to plenty'.

836. *rodawg*. A, *rodawr*. Cf. 33.

837. *Cas ohir*. Lit. 'hating postponement'.

837. *gwythawg*. B, *gwychauc*. Cf. 788.

838. *Rhufoniawg*. A, *rywonyawc*; B, *rywynyauc*. For Rhufoniog, an 'inland cantref' within the present county of Clwyd, see Sir J. E. Lloyd, HW i, 240: 'Rhufoniog plays no important part in the early history of Wales; . . . and no list has been preserved of the princes of the region . . . during the period which preceded the absorption of the district in the realm of Gwynedd' (i.e. in 1116,

see HW ii, 465-6). Cf. however EWGT 12, 49 '[Gwehelyth Rhufoniog?]'. Under the year 816 the *Annales Cambriae* (Ms. B) contain the entry: *Saxones montes Ereri et regnum Roweynauc invaserunt*, see HW i, 240; Morris, *Nennius*, 89. On 'The Party from North Wales' see Jackson, *God.*, 27.

838. *ddiffred*. A. *diffreidyeit*. For *diffred, diffreidiad* see GPC 991.

839. *Ail waith*. A. *eil gweith*; B, *eil with*. For *gwaith*, signifying both 'battle' and 'time', see GPC 1563-4, which enters this example under 'time, occasion'. *With* could be for *gŵyth*, also meaning 'anger, battle', cf. 380 and see CA 318; GPC 1790.

839. *gwelideint*. A, *gelwideint*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 151, 'were called'.

839. *Aled*. The river Aled separates the commotes of Uwch Aled and Is Aled, within Rhufoniog, see CA 317; HW i, 240.

840. *Ei gad feirch a'i seirch*. A, *yg cat veirch a seirch*.

841. *Bid anysgoged*. B here reads *bit en anysgoget*, and A *bedin agkysgoget*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 151, 'an unshaken army'. For *bid* in the sense of 'shall be, must be, needs to be' see Jackson, EWGP 61. *Yn* is not required after it, see CA 318.

842. *Bid*. A, *yt vyd*.

842. *gad forion*. A. *cat voryon*; B, *get uoron*, possibly 'of great gifts', see CA 318.

843. *Gwychyrolion*. A, *cochro llann*, cf. Jackson, *God.*, 151, 'the gravel of the enclosure is red'.

845. *Trwm*. Jackson, *God.*, 100, takes this as a description of the hero, 'He was stern in contest'.

845. *lläin*. A, *llavyn*, 'a blade, sword'.

846. *chwerw*. A, *garw*; B, *gwaro*. For the older form *guero* see CA 278, 293; GPC 1649, which records *gwerw* as a modern Glamorgan form.

846. *rybudd*. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 100, ' "His harsh warning" is presumably wounds inflicted by him, and this is contrasted with his liberality as a host and his approachability'.

846. *gant*. Here the subject of the verb is lenited. A reads . . . *o gat dydygei. cann calan a darmerthei*.

848. *Ef gwenid a dan*. The meaning of *gwân a dan* was 'to go up to', see GPC 1572; PKM 170; CA 319. *Gwenid* is probably 3rd. sing. pres. ind., but could also be impers. imperf., cf. G 613; CA 319.

848. *Urfai*. A, *ervei*; B, *uruei*.

850. *morwyn*. For Urfai's approachability by a maiden, etc., cf. Madog, said in 32 to be 'breathless before a maiden'.

851. *brenin*. A, *teyrn*.

852. *Udd*. B, *yng*.

852. *Gwyndyd*. For other references in the text to the 'men of Gwynedd' see 53, 230, and cf. 704, 706. For the derivation of the forms *Gwyndyd, Gwynedd* see GPC 1772-3. Although Gorthyn's

territory, Rhufoniog, was not located in the 'ancient Gwynedd', but rather in *Y Berfeddwlad*, 'The Middle Country', i.e. 'the land which lay between Gwynedd and Powys' (Lloyd, HW i, 239), it was closely associated with Gwynedd. See further Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, 101 *et passim*.

852. *Cilydd*. A, *glyt*. Lloyd-Jones, G 601, reads *gwaeddglyd*, containing *clyd*, 'famous'. A personal name *Glyd* would rhyme with *Gwyndyd*, but the reading would shorten the line, see CA 320.

852. *Gwaredog*. This occurs as a place-name in Gwynedd, see CA 320 where I. Williams compares the name *Madog Elfed*, i.e. M. of E. *Gwareddog* is also a possible reading, see GPC 1583 s.v., 'merciful, gentle, tender', and Jackson's translation, *God.*, 100, 'Cilydd the gentle'.

853. *gweryd*, etc. A reads *gweryt ar rud llary; hael etvynt*, and B *gweryt ar grud hael etvynt*. In A *llary* may be a gloss on *hael*, cf. CA 320. After *etvynt* B inserts *doeth*, which may also be a gloss on *etvynt*.

854. *digythrudd*. B, *dygyrchet*. Jackson, *God.*, 100, translates B, 'his gifts and fame brought visiting throngs'.

855. *Ei ged a'i glod*. A, *o glot a chet*.

855. *echiog*. B, *ae echiauc*.

856. *Fod bedd*. A, *neut bed*.

856. *Gorthyn Hir*. A, *garthwys hir*.

856. *o orthir*. A, *o dir*. Rhufoniog included most of the 'broad moorlands of Hiraethog', see HW i, 240. Jackson, *God.*, 100, translates 'from the borderland of Rhufoniog', cf. the meaning 'goror' cited for *gorthir* in CA 321.

856. *Rhufoniog*. A, *rywonyawc*; B, *rywynauc*, cf. 838.

858. *daw . . . dyfydd*. These 3rd. sing. forms of *dyfod*, 'to come', are practically synonymous, but GMW 133 lists *daw* under 'Present' and *dyfydd* under 'Consuetudinal Present and Future'.

860. *wastadach*. Note the internal rhyme *yng nghad . . . wastadach*. The Mod. Welsh form would be *(g)wastatach*, but in Med. Welsh the provection *-d* > *-t-* did not occur when the comparative termination *-ach* was added, see GMW 39.

861. *Ryd Benclwyd*. The location is unknown, see CA 325; *God.*, 152.

861. *feirch*. In CA 325 I. Williams points out that an emendation to *farch* 'would give an Irish rhyme with *galch*, not a *proest*', but he also compares the rhymes in 279-82, *Eleirch, arch, seirch, ddihafarch*. With these may be compared the rhymes in the fifth stanza of *Afallennau Myrddin*, LIDC p. 27, *Ryderch, chilch, diheueirch, Rydirch, merch, peirch, gorthorch*, etc. In BBCS xxx (1983), 238, Jenny Rowland refers to the sequence in the *Goddoddin* text *(feirch, galch, dywarch, Fferfarch)* as a 'rare and interesting mix of generic rhyme and *proest*'. Cf. also Miss Rowland's

comment in ibid., 237, on 'the fact that only *ei* is attested as *proesting* with single vowels'.

865. *Trychant eurdorchog.* Ms. *Try can eurdorch.* For the reading cf. 871 and see CA 326.

867. *Cyd ryladded wy.* Ms. *ket rylade hwy.* For the emendation see CA 326. *Hwy* normally appears as *wy* in the Ms. text.

867. *wy lladdasant.* Ms. *wy ladassant.* Lenition is not usual after *wy*, cf. 109, 345, 635. For the content of the line cf. 345, *A chyd lleseint, wy lladdasan*, and LIDC 21.27, *a chin rillethid ve, llatyssint.*

869. *o'r sawl.* An instance of the def. art. In CA lxviii I. Williams suggests reading *or a* (= *o'r a*, 'of those who'), both here and in 396. This would also give a more regular line.

869. *aetham.* Mod. *aethom*, 'we went'. The emendations *aethant* (plur.) or *eithyt* (sing.), 'went' (3rd. pers.), are proposed in CA 326. For *eithyt*, which would rhyme with *gyd*-garant, see GMW 132. I. Williams argues that the reading *aetham* would mean that Aneirin was a member of the war-band which went to Catraeth and that consequently he was the 'one man' who escaped. But cf. lines 245-7 in which the poet refers to his own escape, together with three others.

870. *enghysant.* Ms. *englyssant.* The emendation is proposed in CA 326.

872. *gwaenog.* Ms. *guacnauc.* The emendation is suggested in CA 326-7. For *gwaen*, a possible variant of *chwaen*, 'adventure, feat', etc., see GPC 1550.

876. *ganthudd.* An old form for mod. *ganddynt*, see WG 405-6; GMW 60.

877. *Trychwn a thrychant.* 'Three hounds (i.e. warriors) and three hundred'. The number given in 877 (303) is not consistent with that given in 871 (300), but I. Williams suggests in CA (p. liv) that 877 can be interpreted as meaning that three hundred men went to Catraeth, together with three leaders, cf. 191-203, *Trychwn a thrychant, . . . Tri aur deyrn dorchog, . . . Tri theyrn maon*, etc.

879. *cyfwng.* Ms. *kyniwng.* Lloyd-Jones, G 251, accepts the Ms. reading and suggests 'stubborn, determined' as a meaning. I. Williams, CA 325, 327, understands *kyniwng* as an error for *kymwng*, i.e. *cyfwng* in older orthography, and relates the word to Ir. *cumang*, 'power, force', cf. *anghyfwng* in 857, lit. 'weakness'.

880. *as.* Cf. 155 (cain-*as*-mygai), 184, 237. If *as* is here taken as the syllabic form of the infixed obj. pronoun, cf. GMW 56, the relative pronoun must be understood.

880. *gwnëi.* A disyllabic form with an *-i* 3rd. sing. imperf. termination, cf. 46, *noddi*, etc. The Ms. reading is *gwnehei*, which does not rhyme, see CA 327. Cf. 251 and 302, *gwnâi* (Ms. *gwnaei*).

881. *nid ef*, etc. For the construction cf. 493, *Nid ef borthi gwarth.*

881. *gwaith.* Ms. *weith.* In CA 327 I. Williams suggests the substitution of the unlenited form, as object, in order to add to the alliterative effect.

881. *gocheli.* A 3rd. sing. imperf. in *-i*, cf. *gwnëi*, 880. Note that in this line the verb follows the object.

882. *baran baedd.* This could also be understood as 'boar of fury', *baran faedd.* In CA lxxxi I. Williams refers to the phrase as an instance of non-lenition for the purposes of alliteration in early poetry.

883. *Eryfesid.* Ms. *ervessit.* For the reading see CA 327. The form is a 3rd. sing. pret. in *-esid*, cf. 264, 265, 309, 402, etc.

883. *gwin.* An unlenited object.

884. *camp.* Lit. 'a feat'.

884. *wnëi.* Ms. *wneei.* Cf. 880, *gwnëi.*

885. *I ar.* Possibly 'from upon', see GPC 1993 and cf. lines 294 and 439.

885. *Arfwl Can.* Lit. 'White Arfwl', cf. Jackson, *God.*, 102, 'his white steed'. Cf. *Arfwl Melyn*, the horse of Pasgen son of Urien, mentioned in LIDC 6.6, 30.75. The form *Arfwl* has been linked with the Ir. *adbol*, 'huge, immense', see CLIH 181; TYP 107.

886. *a edewi.* Ms. *ae deui. Edewi* is for *adawai*, cf. 880-1, *gwnëi, gocheli.*

887. *Sgwyd.* The earlier monosyllabic form of *ysgwyd*, 'shield'. Jackson, *God.*, 105, translates 'With his shield suffering blows', but the hero himself may be the shield, cf. p. xlii.

887. *dan woddef.* The translation is uncertain. I. Williams, CA 328, proposes the reading *dân woddef* and suggests that fire issued from the shield when beaten. For the forms *goddau* ('purpose'), *goddef* ('suffer') and *g(w)oddew* ('manner, mode; nurture') and their often confused meanings see GPC 1425-7; G 543-4; CA 134; CLIH 165. Cf. 829, *trinoddef.*

887. *nid estyngai.* Ms. *ny ystyngei.*

888. *erydfagai.* Ms. *erythuaccei.* The reading *-yd-*, rather than *-yth-*, is proposed in CA 328, where I. Williams treats the *yd* as a 3rd. sing. infixed obj. pronoun, cf. 413, *erydmygaf*, and 215, *erysmygai*, where the pronoun is *ys.* Note the use of the subj. form (with *-cc-*) in *erythuaccei*, but the ind. in 215 (Ms. *erysmygei).*

889. *Diriaid o seirch meirch.* Ms. *diryeit o eirch meirch.* The reading *seirch* is proposed in CA 329 on the grounds that *seirch* and *meirch* are frequently associated, cf. 357, 840. *Diriaid* here is taken to be the plur. of *diriad*, 'conqueror', etc., GPC 1034, rather than the adj. *diriaid*, 'evil, unfortunate', etc., ibid., 1035; CA 329. Jackson, *God.*, 105, translates 'terrible . . . horses'.

889. *yng nghynnor gawr.* Ms. *yg kyndor aur.* For the reading see CA 329. Lloyd-Jones, G 262, suggests the reading *uyg kyntorawr*, 'my leader'.

890. In the Ms. this line begins with *gwryavr* but the form is here omitted, adopting the suggestion in CA 329 that it was originally a gloss on *kyndor aur*. Jackson, *God.*, 105, however, translates 'In strife'.

890. *Hëyn gwaywawr*. Cf. 265, *Heesid ais. Gwaywawr* is an unlenited object.

890. *creuddai*. Or *creudai*. Both form and meaning are obscure, see CA 329; G 174. A rhyme in *-ai* is required, otherwise *creudde*, 'bloody, gory', GPC 593, would be a possible reading. GPC does not record *creudai* or *creuddai*.

891. *fy nghyfaill*. Ms. *yg kyueillt*.

891. *ef gwanai eraill*. Cf. 867, *Cyd ryladded wy, wy lladdasant*.

892. *yd ddygai*. Ms. *yt a dyccei*, with a *punctum delens* below the *a*, see CA 329.

893. *cainasmygai*. Ms. *kein as myccei*. Lit. 'he admired it', cf. 155. Here the obj. pronoun *as* refers to the situation described in the succeeding line. The subject of the verb is the phrase *Diwyd yn cadw rhyd*. For the *-cc-* in *kein as myccei* cf. 888, *erythuaccei*. In 155 the Ms. form is *kein as mygei*.

894. *cyfran*. Ms. *kyhuran*. For the emendation see CA 330, where I. Williams points out, however, that *cynfran*, i.e. either a 'prince' or a proper name, would be a possible reading. *Cyfran* is the unlenited object of the verb *dy-ddug*. But both I. Williams and Jackson, *God.*, 40, agree in interpreting *cyfran clodfan*, lit. 'the celebrated or famous portion', as a reference to the 'champion's portion' of meat which each hero desired to obtain for himself at a feast. See further, K. H. Jackson, *The Oldest Irish Tradition ; A Window on the Iron Age*, 21-2: 'It was the right of the best hero present to carve the chief carcass for the diners, and this was a practical as well as a symbolic privilege, since the carver was expected to give himself the best joint of the meat, the *curadmír* or "Champion's Portion" . . . Naturally several warriors might demand the privilege, and to make this good each abused the other, quoting discreditable stories about past disgraces which had befallen his rival . . . Sometimes, though, the opponent would not be put down with words, and then they came to blows, and the right to the Champion's Portion might then only be gained by one killing the other'.

895. *Ardwy nef*. Ms. *Ardwynef*. I. Williams, CA 330, suggests that a reading *Ardwy dwyw nef*, 'the protection of the God of heaven', would be a metrical improvement. For the content of the line cf. 316 and 773, and see D. Simon Evans, *Ysg. Beirn. X*, 42. Note the repetition of the verb *Ardwy(ai)* in the first and last lines of the stanza.

895. *eiddunwlad*. Ms. *eidun gwalat*.

897. *deon*. Lit. 'good men', cf. GPC 930, 'noblemen, warriors'.

897. *barth*. Ms. *parth*.

898. *Detholwyr*. Ms. *deetholwyl*.

899. *Lloegr, lluydd amad*. The comma could be omitted and *Lloegr* understood as a genitive, cf. 702, *Lloegrwys liwedawr* (cf. note). For *amad* (Ms. *amhat*) see GPC 80. Jackson, *God.*, 105, translates 'mongrel hosts'. I. Williams, CA 331, suggests 'numerous' as a possible meaning, and *amnat*, 'famous', as an alternative reading, cf. 698.

900. *Naw ugaint*. For the hyperbole cf. 96, *Milcant a thrychant*.

900. *am beithynad*. For *peithyn* in the lit. meaning of 'scale-armour', see CLIH 87. Jackson, *God.*, 105, translates 'around [each] mail-clad [warrior]'. Cf. 251, *ar beithing beithing arfodiawg*, 'destruction upon destruction with blows', but more literally 'layer upon layer of slaughter', see CA 139-40.

902. *o gad*. Ms. *or gat*. The reading without the def. art. is preferable. For the use of *o* in the sense of 'by' or 'through' cf. 537, *O gyfrysedd*.

903. *i ar rawn rhyn*. Lit. 'on rough horse-hair'.

904. *eiliw eleirch*. According to Jackson, *God.*, 106, the phrase could mean 'as graceful' as swans, with *eiliw* = 'shape, form'.

910. *gwyn*. 'White', probably 'pale' cheeks, cf. the discussion of *granwyn* in BWP 168.

911. *ceryn*. Ms. *ceri*. In *Ast. Hen.*, 77, D. Simon Evans accepts the Ms. reading, cf. note on 76.

911. *gon gwylaes*. These words are obscure and the text is probably corrupt, see CA 332. Jackson, *God.*, 106, does not translate and I. Williams, LEWP 69, omits the whole line from his translation.

912. *Ni phorthasan warth*. Cf. 493.

912. *ni thechyn*. Cf. *ni dechyn* in 775 and see note on *ni dechai*, 36.

915. *anysgoged*. Ms. *ynysgoget*.

915. *yn nhaer*. Ms. *yn dayr*. I. Williams, CA 333, understands *taer* here as a noun, 'battle', cf. also *Bardos*, 24.60, *yn nhaer*; ibid., 26.60, 'yn y cythrwfl'. Jackson, *God.*, 106, translates 'eagerly', taking *taer* to be the adj., 'pressing, urgent', etc. *Taer* rhymes with *wael* in the next line.

916. *Nid oedd wael*. For the litotes cf. 19-20, 367, 881, etc.

917. *hyll edellyll*. Ms. *hyll ydellyll*. Cf. 308, *Ni bu hyll dihyll*. If the text were emended to *hyll dihyll* (cf. CA 158) it would mean 'his savagery was unremitting', cf. the note on 308.

918. *sgwydog*. Ms. *scyndauc*. The emendation is suggested in CA 333. Cf. 887, *Sgwyd*. Madog (from Elfed, i.e. *Elmet* in Yorkshire) is taken by I. Williams to be the Madog mentioned in 38 and 660.

919. *Pan ddêl i gyfranc*. Ms. *Pan dei y cyuarchant*. For the emendation see CA 334. Note that the vivid pres. *ddêl* is followed by the imperf. *oedd*.

921. *Aeron*. Ms. *aruon*. I. Williams, CA 334, takes this as an indication that the hero was another member of the party from

Gwynedd, cf. 852, but Jackson, *God.*, 19-20, argues that *Aeron* is a much more probable reading and that *aruon* could have been a misreading of *airon*. In 629 Cynon is described as the 'protector of Aeron'. See further R. Bromwich in *Ast. Hen.*, 153, 156-7.

922. *aur geinion.* Ms. *eur ceinyo.* The emendation is required by the rhyme, see CA 334. In the text *aur geinion arwrthiad Brython* is the subject of the verb *cyrchai*, and describes the 'avenger of Aeron'. Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 107, 'the avenger of Aeron, wearing golden ornaments, he attacked'. *Aur* could also carry the meaning 'splendid', see GPC 237. For *ceinion* see the note on line 383, where the word also occurs in association with Cynon.

923. *Arwrthiad Brython.* Ms. *arurchyat urython.* For the suggested emendation *arwrthiad* see CA 334 and G 43. Cf 432, *gwrthiad*, 'resister, opposer', GPC 1727. Jackson, *God.*, 107, translates 'the opponent among the Britons'.

925. Four lines of uncertain meaning have been omitted at the commencement of this stanza, see CA 47. In the second of these lines *nei nim* probably represents the name of the hero celebrated in the stanza, Heinif.

925. *Ef lladdodd llu.* Ms. *em ladaut lu.* In the *Pokorny Festschrift*, 203, and LIC viii, 18, this line is understood as *Ymladdodd llu mawr*, 'A great host fought', but the transliteration given in the text is much more probable as the couplet which contains the line is both preceded and followed by references to the hero. For *ef* followed by an unlenited verb cf. 251, etc., and see CA 95. *Lu* must be read as *llu*, an unlenited object alliterating with *lladdodd*. See further CA 335; *God.*, 107.

926. *Yng ngwerth ei adrawdd.* Lit. 'in return for being spoken of'. Note the half-rhyme *mawr, adrawdd*.

929. *Cant.* Could also mean 'a host, throng', cf. 2, 673.

930. *grybwyller.* Ms. *grimbuiller*, possibly for *cyrymbwyller*, see CA 336 and cf. G 263. *Cyrbwyll, crybwyll*, lit. 'to mention', tended to acquire the meanings 'praise, celebrate, extol', see GPC 618, and cf. 224, *Er wyneb grybwylliaid.* The form in the text is the pres. (or fut.) impersonal subj.

931. *Bu gwell.* i.e. he slew even more on the expedition to Catraeth. The hero's exploits enumerated in lines 927-30 belonged to a period previous to the assembling of Mynyddog's war-band.

932. *Can wŷr i Gatraeth. Can* is the Mod. Welsh *gan*, 'with'. The possibility of understanding *Can wŷr* as 'a hundred men' is rejected in CA 336, but cf. Jackson, *God.*, 107, 'with a hundred men'. Note the phrase *i Gatraeth*, whereas in 80, etc., *Gatraeth* without a preposition is used for 'to Catraeth'.

933. *aillt ŵr.* Ms. *eilth gur.* I. Williams, CA 336, treats *aillt* here as an adj., 'well nourished, reared', etc., cf. *cyf-aillt*, GPC 675. In 381 and 704 *aillt* is used for 'man, subject'.

935. *gŵr llwyd heinif.* Among the meanings of *llwyd* was 'blessed, holy', cf. GDG 4.11, *Iesu lwyd Iôn;* 45.17, *Duw lwyd,*

and Jackson, *God.*, 107, here translates 'he was a blessed, active man'. Preferable, however, is I. Williams's suggestion, CA 357, that *llwyd* should be equated with the second element in *plym-lwyd*, 'battle', cf. the variant *plymnwyd* in 180 and 716. Thus *llwyd heinif* would form a compound, 'vigorous in battle', cf. BT 78.18, *gweith heinif*, with the same meaning; GPC 1623, *gweithfuddig*, 'victorious in battle'. Cf. also LIDC 35.10, *Gweith heinyw; St. Celt.*, xiv/xv (1979/80), 60; BBCS iv (1927), 46.47 (*gw. hemyw*); ibid. vii (1933), 26, *gw. heinyw* in line 1 of *Darogan.* In the LIDC text the form *gweith* should possibly have been entered on p. 146 under *gueith*'.

936. *llurig deinif.* I. Williams, CA 337, understands *teinif* as the verb-noun of *taenaf*, 'I scatter, strew, spread', mod. *taenu.* Thus *llurig deinif* would form a compound adj., 'cuirass (or breastplate)-scattering'. Line 897 in CA 36 (omitted here) refers to the hero's hand as *luric wehyn*, i.e. 'cuirass-stripping, tearing away the enemy's breastplate'. With *teinif* cf. 561, *Dewr daen*, 'scatterer of the Deirans'. Jackson, *God.*, 107, however, translates *Oedd llurig deinif* as 'he was wearer of a broad mail-coat'.

939. *ym mhlymlwyd.* Ms. *imil imil luit.* The emended reading is proposed in CA 337. For *plymlwyd* see above on 935; CA 123. The form *plymlwyt* is attested in BT 25.13; cf. ibid., 69.24, *pymlwyt.*

940. *sgwyd.* Ms. *yscuit.* The reading *sgwyd* gives a line of six rather than seven syllables.

942. *Heinif.* Ms. *neim ab nuithon.* Jackson, *God.*, 107, reads this as *nei mab nuithon*, 'Nai son of Nwython'. I. Williams, CA 338, suggests that the original reading was *Heinim* [*m*]*ap Nuithon*, and this is supported by the use of *heinif* three times in the stanza, once as a proper name and twice as an adj., 'active, vigorous'. A Nwython is mentioned in the Dyfnwal Frych stanza, 994.

943. *Gŵr a fai well.* Cf. 210 and 638.

944. *Merin Iddew.* The Firth of Forth. Iddew (Ms. *iodeo*) was formerly thought to be the island of Inchkeith in the middle of the Firth, cf. CA 338, but most scholars now think it was on the site of the present castle of Stirling. For discussions see Jackson, *God.*, 6, 72; *idem* in *Celt and Saxon*, 36-8; *idem* in CMCS 2 (1981), 1-7; A. Rutherford in BBCS xxvi (1976), 440-4.

945. *Tri gwaeth ffrawdd.* Lit. 'three times worse' (in ferocity), cf. Jackson, *God.*, 108. The Ms. reading for *ffrawdd* is *frant*, cf. CA 338-9, where the emendation *fraut* is proposed.

945. *ffrawddus.* Ms. *fraidus.* This could be read as *ffraethus*, but I. Williams, CA 339, opts for *frautus* (?*fraudus*) as an emendation.

946. *Bubon.* Probably the hero's name. I. Williams, CA 339, refers to *Buan, Biuan, Biuon*, etc., as possible parallels. Jackson, *God.*, 108, asserts that Bubon would 'either be a Pict or would be from the northern part of Manaw across the Forth'.

946. *bardew.* Ms. *bar deo.* Probably an adj., compounded of *bâr*, 'anger' and *tew*, 'thick', describing Bubon, cf. CA 339.

947. *Gnawd.* Ms. *Guaut*, but cf. the succeeding lines.

947. *ffysgiolin.* Ms. *fisiolin.* The emendation is proposed in CA 339. Cf. the note on line 407 for *ffysgiolin*, and see GPC 1336.

948. *terydd rai.* Ms. *terhid rei.* I. Williams, CA 340, suggests that *terhid* could also be a pres. 3rd. sing. verbal form from *taro*, 'to strike'. For *terydd*, 'blazing', see 651. *Rei* can not be read as *reï*, the sing. of *reïawr*, cf. 133, as it rhymes with *byddai*, etc. Jackson, *God.*, 108, does not translate.

949. *yn llwrw.* Ms. *illuru.* The phrase may here be used literally, ct. 159 and 165 (*yn llwrw, i lwrw*), where it means 'as, in the manner (of)'.

950. *Dewr.* Ms. *deor.* Cf. 561, 577, 587, and see the note on 561.

951. *Golystan.* Ms. *golistan.*

951. *cyn ni bei.* Ms. *cen nei bei.*

952. *yndewid.* Ms. *indeuit*, for *endewid*, from *andaw*, 'to listen, hear', GPC 110.

952. *a lafarai.* Lit., 'what he spoke'.

953. *Mynyddawg, sgwydawr.* For the apparent half-rhyme cf. 907-8.

954. *Gnawd.* Omitted in the Ms., this is obviously required at the beginning of the line.

954. *gwayw rhudd.* Ms. *guaurud.* For the emendation see CA 341. Cf. LIDC 18.189, *guawrut*, emended to *guaiuawr rut.*, ibid., 103.

954. *Urfai.* An Urfai (A text *ervei*), the father of Gorthyn from Rhufoniog in north Wales, is mentioned in 848. I. Williams also suggests, CA 341, that *Eidyn Urfai* could be understood as a place-name, i.e. the full name of Eidyn.

956. *gâl galed.* Lit. 'one harsh in his enmity'.

958. *efrifed.* Ms. *uiriuet.* The emendation is suggested in CA 341. Jackson, *God.*, 110, does not translate.

959. *a gaffai ei law.* Ms. *a gaffeilau.* Jackson, *God.*, 110, understands this as 'as much of it as a hand could grip'. *Ohonaw* probably refers to *aesawr* in 957, which could be either masc. or fem., cf. GPC 39. The stump of a shattered shield in the hand was evidence of bravery, cf. YCM 61.16-20, *gwelet ... nat oed gantunt oc eu taryanev kymeint ac a gudei eu dyrneu*, but in Edar's case not even the stump returned.

960. *a thaned.* Ms. *ac canet.* The emendation, which is very conjectural, is suggested in CA 342. Jackson, *God.*, 110, does not translate. I. Williams suggests that both wax and fire issued forth from the shield under the blows of the enemy in battle.

961. *grynied.* Ms. *griniec.* For the emendation see CA 342.

962. *Nid adwanai.* i.e. there was no need to give a second blow.

962. *rywanai, rywaned.* The pre-verbal particle *ry-* frequently added little or nothing to the meaning, cf. 611, *ry-wnaeth*, and see GMW 166. For the antithesis cf. 867, *ryladded, ... lladdasant.*

963. *Oedd mynych.* Jackson, *God.*, 110-11, understands this line as meaning that either 'he was generous to captives after the feast celebrating victory', or 'he boasted much, at the feast before the battle, of the "gifts" (i.e. spears etc.), that he would "give" the enemy'. The latter seems the more probable, cf. the reference in line 702 to a 'handsome gift' to the English.

964. *Oedd gwenwyn.* Jackson, *God.*, 111, translates 'he was venomous'. Cf. note on 79.

964. *yd traethed.* Ms. *hic caraitet.* I. Williams, CA 342, suggests the very conjectural emendation adopted in the text, and refers to medieval examples of *traethu* used for 'to treat'. Jackson, *God.*, 111, does not translate.

966. *Dyrllyddai.* Ms. *dirlishei.* Cf. 157, *derllyddai.*

966. *Edar.* Ms. *etar.* An Edar is mentioned in an obscure poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen, LIDC 14.3, *a sich heul. a gulich edar.* The poem also appears to contain an echo of a couplet in stanza 53 above, see the note on 519.

967. *tra thrichant.* Ms. *tratrigant.* The emendation is suggested in CA 343. Cf. 673, *Rhag cant ef gwant gysefin.* The three hundred are presumably the war-band of the Gododdin and the use of the prep. *tra*, 'over, beyond' (GMW 210) implies that the hero took precedence over all his companions. Jackson, *God.*, 112, however, translates 'He stabbed over three hundred of the finest'.

968. *a pherfedd.* Ms. *auet.* The emendation is suggested in CA 343 on the basis of a line in BT 25, *ef lladei a pherued ac eithaf a diwed.* The 'centre and wing' were those of the opposing army.

969. *llariaf.* Ms. *llarahaf.* The basic sense of *llary*, from Lat. *largus*, is 'generous'.

971. *gochorai.* Ms. *gochore.* I. Williams, CA 343, suggests the reading *gochone(i)* from a verb *gochoni*, 'to make, cause', cf. *dichawn, digawn.* GPC 1400, however, gives *gochori*, 'to satisfy, feed', cf. G 541. Jackson, *God.*, 112, translates 'he glutted (?) black ravens'.

972. *Cyn ni bai ef Arthur.* Ms. *ceni bei.* For the clause cf. 951, *cyn ni bai gwledig.* The *ef* may no doubt be ignored metrically. The line has been thought by many to contain the earliest reference to Arthur and his reputation for military prowess, and this would certainly be so if we could be sure that the stanza dates from the sixth or early seventh century. A poet composing c. 600 could have known people who remembered Arthur. Such a dating is, however, beyond proof. For discussions see Jackson, *God.*, 112; Bromwich, TYP 275; Jarman in *An Arthurian Tapestry*, 3; Geoffrey Ashe in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, 21, who agrees that 'the line may be an interpolation' but makes the point that 'no cogent reason exists for thinking so, and even if it is it must still be quite early'. For another reference to a hero as a

paragon of valour cf. 528, *No Morien ni waeth wnelud.* Morien was himself a man of the Gododdin, but Arthur was a remoter figure whose prowess could not be emulated. The reference to him in *Y Gododdin* has, however been adduced by Rachel Bromwich, TYP 275, in support of her argument that 'the historical Arthur was a north-British leader or chieftain who lived *circa* 500'. On the other hand Jackson, loc. cit., rejects this view on the grounds that 'Arthur was the great national hero of the entire British people, from Scotland to Brittany'.

973. *Rhwng cyfnerthi.* Ms. *rug ciuin uerthi.* The emendation, which is very conjectural, is suggested in CA 343-4.

973. *yng nghlysur.* Ms. *ig disur.* The emendation is suggested in CA 344. It presupposes a form *clysur*, 'battle', which is not recorded in GPC 516, although it is given on p. 1420 as a possible component of *gochlysur.* Jackson, *God.*, 112, does not translate this line.

974. *Gwawrddur.* The last three letters are not clear in the Ms., but a rhyme in *-ur* is required. The name also occurs in 343.

975. *adar.* Cf. Jackson, *God.*, 113, '[carrion-]birds', and 215, *Bwyd i eryr erysmygai;* 971, *Gochorai brain du.*

975. *ei adaf.* Ms. *a da am.* For the emendation see CA 344.

976. *Edysmygaf.* For the *-ys-*, 'him', infixed between *Ed-* and *-mygaf*, cf. 215, *erysmygai.*

976. *edeifniad.* Ms. *edeiuiniat.* See CA 344-6 where the meanings 'originator, leader, chief' (GPC 1164) are established.

977. *Eithiniad.* Ms. *eithiuiat.* For the emended form, possibly based on *aeth, (go)-eithin*, see CA 154 and 346. *(G)oeithin*, 'savage', occurs in line 300. GPC 1203 does not record the form *eithiniad.*

977. *a rhwygiad.* Ms. *aruhicat.* Cf. 219-20, *rhwygiad dygymynai.* From *rhwygo*, lit. 'to tear'.

978. *awr.* Ms. *aur*, which however rhymes with *gaur (= gawr).* Both *awr* and *aur* occur for 'gold' (but only *aur* in Mod. Welsh) from Lat. *aurum*, see ELIG 9. Jackson, *Lang & Hist.*, 322, states that *aur (= awr)* in the *Gododdin* text is the only example of this form, but see G 48; CT 44; GPC 242.

980. *edeifniad.* Ms. *edeiuinieit.* Cf. 976. The plural form would no doubt make better sense, but a rhyme with *(i)ad* is required.

981. *Ballog, talgellog.* Lit. 'the freckled ministering (dispensing) one.' Cf. *y brych cadarn*, the mighty freckled one', RP 584.17, identified with Henry II, see M. E. Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh*, 217. The description doubtless carried the concept of threat or menace, cf. the meanings given to *brych* in GPC 338, 'spotted, speckled, freckled; fig. ugly, unsightly, arrant'. Cf. also *brych* in 510.

982. *Trydydd Engiriawl.* A triad of the *Tri Engiriol* ('Three Violent or Terrible Ones') occurs, see TYP 196. The three named are Heledd, Llywarch and Llemenig. Rachel Bromwich points out, loc. cit., that 'the epithet is unsuited to anything that we know of the characters named', and adds that, as applied to Cibno in *Y Gododdin*, 'the word . . . . has no pejorative sense'. Alluding to the absence of the name of Cibno from the list in the triad Jackson, *God.*, 114, suggests that 'perhaps the present passage merely means that he was worthy to be one of them'. He further observes that 'at any rate it bears witness to the existence of the triad in the ninth to tenth centuries, if not the sixth'.

983. *Erlyniad.* Ms. *erlinaut.* For the emendation see CA 348.

984. *Arth arwynawl.* Cf. 565, and 159, *arth yn llwrw.*

985. *Gorfloddiad riallu.* Jackson, *God.*, 114, translates 'the terrifier of champions'.

986. *Erglywiad.* Ms. *erigliuiat.* See GPC 1232, where this example, however, is given the meaning 'listener, hearer' rather than 'that which is heard, report'. A translation based on the second of these meanings would seem to suit the text. Jackson, *God.*, 114, does not translate.

986. *hirlu.* ? For *hirllu.* See WG 181 for the provection *rl* > *rll*. According to Jackson, *Lang. & Hist.*, 480, however, the *ll* sound was not fully established in Welsh before the tenth century.

987. *Cain fu.* Ms. *cem bu.*

987. *Gibno.* A lenited subject after *bu.* Cibno is also named in 616.

989. *Adwen ofalon Cyny.* Jackson, *God.*, 134, translates 'I recognise the sorrows of Cyny'. *Adwen* occurs as a 1st. and 3rd. sing. pres. ind., see G 8, and 'Cyny knows cares' would be a possible translation. Cyny (Ms. *keny*) was one of Llywarch Hen's sons, see CLIH 8 and 98 for an *englyn* commencing *Atwen leueryd Kyni.* I. Williams proposes the emendation of *leueryd* to *leuenyd* (= *llawenydd*, 'joy') as a counterbalance to *(g)ofalon* in the Book of Aneirin *englyn.* For the view that the latter was not an interpolation, but a part of the original *Gododdin*, see Patrick Ford, *The Poetry of Llywarch Hen*, 47.

990. *a ddyly.* Lit. 'he has the right to'. Jackson, *God.*, 134, translates 'he was worthy of'. The end of the bench was the seat of honour, cf. 384, *Neud ef eisteddai yn nhâl lleithig.*

991. This stanza celebrates the defeat and death in 642, at the battle of Strathcarron near Falkirk, of Domnall Brecc or Dyfnwal Frych (D. the Freckled), king of Scottish Dál Riada, at the hands of the Britons of Strathclyde led by their King Hoan or Owain son of Beli son of Neithon. It was presumably composed shortly after the battle and is considered to be the only example we possess of verse in Welsh emanating from Strathclyde. Though not connected with the theme of *Y Gododdin*, it was interpolated into both A and B texts. For discussions and references see CA xli; Jackson, *God.*, 47, 98; BWP 79; J. Bannerman in *Who Are the Scots!*, 75.

991. *Gwelais i.* For the frequent formulaic use of this phrase in

early and medieval poetry see I. Foster in *Ysg. Beirn. V*, 21-3; BWP 80.

991. *o Bentir.*, I. Williams suggests that the reference may be to Kintyre (= Welsh *Pentir*), within Domnall Brecc's kingdom, see CA xli; BWP 79. Jackson, *God.*, 98, translates 'from the headland' and states that 'the headland might be the ridge on which Falkirk stands'.

992. *A berth am goelcerth.* Ms. A, *aberth am goelkerth*; B, *a berthach coel kerth.* For the emendation see CA 302. *Am*, here translated 'around', could also be used to indicate purpose, and *coelcerth* possibly means a 'flare, fire-brand' rather than 'blaze, conflagration', see I. Williams, loc. cit.

992. *a ymddygyn.* A, *a disgynnyn*, 'who attacked'.

993. *Gwelais i ddau*, etc. The entire line in A reads *gweleis oed kenevin ar dref redegein*, treated as obscure in CA 303, but translated by Jackson, *God.*, 147, 'I saw the accustomed muster hastening to the town'. I. Williams, loc. cit., translates *ddau* (Ms. *deu*) in the B text as 'two (arrays)', and Jackson, *God.*, 99, as 'two (groups)', and the latter (98) explains the situation thus: 'The picture in B seems to be that at dawn the army of Dyfnwal Frych attacked and fired a town on a hilly headland, and the inhabitants came out to defend it, perhaps in two detachments'. *Deu*, however, occurs in early verse for 'second', see GPC 905, so that it may refer to the emergence of the town's defenders in one host.

993. *rygwyddyn.* Jackson, *God.*, 99, translates 'they had come down'. I. Williams, CA 303, gives *cwyddo* the meaning 'descend, attack'. *Ry-* may be relative here and in 994, cf. GMW 62.

994. *O air ŵyr Nwython.* A reads *a gwyr nwythyon*, and B *o eir nwython.* The emendation adopted here is Jackson's, *God.*, 98. He also suggests *a gwyr wyr Nwyth(y)on*, 'and the men of the grandson of Nwython', as a possible emendation of the A text. I. Williams favours the reading *ac ŵyr Nwython*, meaning either 'and' or 'with the grandson of Nwython', CA xli; BWP 80. For Owain and his grandfather Nwython (a variant of Neithon) cf. the Strathclyde genealogy preserved in Harleian Ms. 3859, *Eugein. map. Beli. map. Neithon*, *Y Cymmr.*, ix, 172. Cf. also 942.

994. *rygodesyn.* A, *ry gollessyn*; B, *ry godessyn.* I. Williams, CA 303, suggests that this could be from *coddi*, 'to anger, offend', translating 'with the grandson of N. they were wroth', BWP 80-1. As Jackson points out, *God.*, 98, this would make the men of Dál Riada, not those of Strathclyde, the subject of the verb.

995. *tyllfawr.* A, *dulliawr.* Cf. GPC 1099, *dulliawr*, 'ready for battle, in battle array'.

995. *gan wawr a ddoyn.* A, *gan awr adevyn*, cf. Jackson, 147, 'came at the battle-shout'.

996. *Dyfnwal Frych.* A, *dyvynwal a breych.* The corruption *breych* for *brych* preserves an early feature, namely the unlenited *b-*. In the early period the king of Dál Riada would have been known as Dyfnwal *Brych*, cf. Rhodri *Mawr*, etc., and *brych* alliterates with *brain.*

997. *fraith, fraith.* Ms. *e vreith vreith.* The significance of the *e* is uncertain, cf. CA 75 and 321.

1000. *gochanwn, gochenyn.* Jackson, *God.*, 151, translates the line: 'Let us sing to him, the eight slaves sing to him'. G 541, however, gives *gochanwn* as 1st. sing. imperf., and *gochenyn* as 3rd. plur. imperf., while I. Williams in CA 322 appeared to be undecided. In *Ast. Hen.*, 207, R. L. Thomson makes a strong case for regarding this poem as elegiac in tone and *gochanwn, gochenyn* as imperfects. This would accord with the other verbal forms *elai, gelwi, lleddi, dyddygai, gyrhaeddai, fai.*

1001. *helia.* In OBWV 7 Sir Thomas Parry emends to *heliaw*, rhyming with *law* in the next line. GPC 1844, however, does not give the form.

1002. *llory.* The *-y* is non-syllabic, cf. GMW 10.

1004. *Giff, Gaff.* The names of the hounds.

1004. *daly, daly.* Mod. Welsh *dala.* For the *-y* cf. 1002, *llory.*

1005. *lleddi.* Cf. 46, *noddi*; 567, *sengi*, etc.

1006. *llywiwg.* The translation 'prey' is a guess. I. Williams, CA 323, asks whether it means a 'creature'. Jackson, *God.*, 151, does not translate.

1008-10. *Pen.* Not 'head' but 'one', with reference to animals, etc., cf. Breton *pen deuet, pen kesec*, and see BBCS iii (1926), 135.

1010. *o Raeadr Derwennydd.* For *rhaeadr*, 'falls, waterfall' in a place-name cf. *Rhaeadr Gwy.* Jackson, *God.*, 46, refers to the river-names *Derwent* and *Darwen*, but states that 'it is impossible to tell which of the several rivers of this name, if any, is meant. There are Derwents in Co. Durham (flowing into the Tyne opposite Newcastle), the Lake Hills (with Derwent Falls), and E. Yorkshire'. He favours the one in Co. Durham as 'being within the bounds of Gododdin'.

1011. *O'r sawl.* Note the def. art., cf. 1113, etc.

1012. *llewyn a llwynain.* The meaning of both nouns is uncertain, cf. CA 324. Jackson, *God.*, 151, translates *llewyn* as 'fox'. He leaves *llwynain* (Ms. *llwyuein*) untranslated.

1014-15. These two lines, which are repeated at the end of the *Gorchan*, are found in 263.

1016. *Twrf yn angwedd.* Ms. *twryf en agwed.* Jackson, *God.*, 153, translates 'the uproar in the massacre'. For the various possible meanings of *twrf* and *angwedd*, etc., see CA 349. GPC 69 gives '*angwedd:* death'.

1019. *mariedd.* Possibly for *maredd*, see LIDC 7.28.

1020. *Tarianau ban.* The form *tarian* normally means a 'shield' but also occurs for *taran* 'thunder', see CA 353-4. I. Williams in loc. cit. explains the cries as lamentations and quotes from RC xxiv, 65: 'Fergal has been slain . . . there is one wail like thunder from the Clew Bay islands to Mann'.

1021. *Am Dâl Henban.* There is a *Talhenbont* at Llanystumdwy in Eifionydd in Gwynedd, and a *Henbant Mawr* on the boundary of Arfon and Eifionydd, see CA 354.

1025. *Gwelydd.* Ms. *welyd.* For the emendation see CA 355.

1026. *Gwelyddon rwyd.* Cf. 40, *cywlad rwyd.*

1031. *hywredd.* Ms. *heywred.* For the emendation see CA 355.

1036. *Yng nghynnor.* Ms. *yg kynhoryf.* See CA 356.

1037. *Ef gwrthodes.* Note the change to the 3rd. pers. sing. and cf. 53, *Ef gwrthodes gwrŷs.*

1038. *Ar lles peues.* In the Ms. the line reads *ar llwrw peues: ar lles pedyt.* Jackson, *God.*, 154, translates 'To the profit of the infantry, he drove back four hosts for the sake of the country'.

1042. *Aesawr yn nellt.* Cf. 218.

1043. *llafn yng ngwallt.* i.e. a blade in the enemy's hair, cf. CLIH 5.29b, *gwaet ar wallt hyll,* 'blood on dishevelled hair'.

1044. *Ais obedror.* The reason for the lenition is not clear, cf. BT 10.18, *achyrn gopetror.* The reading *eis* in the Ms. is, however, uncertain. For *gobedror* see GPC 1417, 'square; reaching in all directions, on all sides'.

1045. *gwyllias.* Cf. 185 and see CA 123. GPC 1765 gives the word as a noun and adj., 'fury; . . . furious'.

1048. *teithïor.* Ms. *teithiawr.* Probably identical in meaning with *teithïawc, teithïog,* 'rightful', cf. 851. Jackson, *God.*, 154, translates 'a man of lawful titles'. To rhyme with *porffor* the form *teithïor* is required.

1049. *O blith porffor.* Jackson, *God.*, 154, translates 'dressed in purple'. I. Williams, CA 357, suggests that the two phrases *gŵr gwyllias o* and *gŵr teithïor o* emphasize a contrast in the hero's attitudes during the drinking of mead and the wearing of purple clothing.

1050. *Porthloedd byddin.* The phrase is used in 782 to open stanza 82.

1053. *hawffin.* The first element in this form is obscure.

1055-6. *Er cadw cyfraith,* etc. Jackson, *God.*, 154, translates 'he was worthy (?) in upholding the law'. I. Williams, CA 358, understands the phrase *cadw cyfraith* as referring to the hero's fidelity to his bond or agreement with his chieftain after drinking his mead, but suggests *cyfiaith* (cf. 596, 608) as a possible alternative reading for *cyfraith.*

1060. *Tudfwlch.* Cf. 125, 129, 147, 597, 609.

1060. *Cyfwlch.* In 147 Tudfwlch and Cyfwlch Hir are named together.

1063. *Gan Fynyddog.* Jackson, *God.*, 154, translates 'in the company of Mynyddog', but cf. GPC 1379 for *gan* in the sense of 'by, by means of; through; because of, on account of'. Cf. 549, *O osgordd Mynyddog handwyf adfeilliog.*

1071. *O fualau.* Ms. *eu haualeu.* For the emendation see CA 358.

1073-4. *Arf anghynnull,* etc. Cf. 1014-15.

1076. *I Wynasedd Felyn.* Ms. *y wynnassed velyn.* The name *Gwynasedd* may be that of a place or person (male or female), see CA 367, though the succeeding lines make it probable that the reference is to a male victim of Cynfelyn's fury. Jackson, *God.*, 156, translates 'upon Gwynasedd the yellow-haired', but I. Williams, loc. cit., is uncertain whether *velyn* is the lenited form of the adj. *melyn,* 'yellow', or of a personal name Belyn. For a historical Belyn of Llŷn, in Gwynedd, whose death is recorded in 627, see *Y Cymmr.*, ix, 157; TYP 280; Lloyd, HW i, 184.

1078. *Celedig ewyn.* Owing to the loss of Gwynasedd there is no feasting, and consequently no foaming mead, see CA 367.

1080. *Ei grau.* Ms. *Eil creu.* A repetition of 1077. I. Williams, CA 367, suggests that the latter may be deleted.

1084. *Goborthiad adar.* Cf. 975.

1085. *adwyar.* Ms. *dwyar.*

1086. *graddforion.* 'Long-striding', with a word for 'horses' understood. *Morion* was the old plur. of *mawr,* 'big'.

1087. *cerdd wyllion.* A reference to the madmen or wild men of early Welsh and Irish legend, whose speed of movement was proverbial. A 13th. cent. description of the Irish *geilte* (Welsh *gwyllt,* plur. *gwyllon, gwyllion*) states that 'their swiftness is said to be so great that other men cannot approach them, and greyhounds just as little as men. For these people run along the trees almost as swiftly as monkeys or squirrels', see BBCS i (1922), 230. It will be noted that the reference in *Gorchan Cynfelyn* is to the *gwyllion*'s rapid movement 'over the grassy plain'. The most celebrated of the Welsh wild men was Myrddin, but in his legend swiftness is not attributed to him, though it was to his Scottish counterpart Lailoken, who 'rushed away like a wild goat out of the hunter's noose . . . seeking . . . the wilderness', see B. Clarke, *Life of Merlin,* 231.

1089. *wellin.* Ms. *welling.* For the emendation see CA 368.

1091. *ys mau.* Cf. 1068 and CT 11.10-13.

1092. *oni.* Ms. *eny.*

1092. *yn nydd.* Ms. *y dyd.* With the two lines 1090-1 cf. 'Marwnad Cynddylan', *Bardos,* 23.16, *Ef cwynif oni fwyf i'm derwin taw,* 'I shall mourn until I am in my silent oak [coffin]'.

1096-7. *Gwarchan; Gorchan.* Note the use of the two forms in two consecutive lines. *Gwarchan* also occurs in 1101 and 1120. For the meaning see GPC 1463, 'song, poem; canticle; counsel, instruction, teaching'.

1104. *i'w enaid.* For the use of *enaid* for 'soul' rather than 'life' cf. 772 and the note thereon. In *Ysg. Beirn. X,* 38-9, D. Simon Evans argues for the lateness of both examples. The *Gorchan* lines 1103-4 recall the couplet in Taliesin's elegy for Owain ab Urien, CT 12.21-2, *kyt as cronyei mal calet/ny* (read *ry*) *rannet rac y eneit:* 'Though he hoarded them [i.e. horses] like a miser,

they were distributed for his soul's sake'. In CT xxxv-xxxvi I. Williams rejects the view that the religious motivation found in the couplet is evidence of lateness, on the grounds that Taliesin's age was also the Age of the Saints.

1105. *mab Tegfan.* Ms. *e vab tecvann.* Cynfelyn was presumably the son of Tegfan and grandson of Cadfan, named in 1107.

1106. *With rif ac wrth ran.* i.e. according to the amount and extent of his largesse.

1110. *Buan ddau.* Ms. *buan deu.* Jackson, *God.*, 156, does not translate.

1111. *Trywyr a thri ugaint a thrychant.* Cf. 243 and the note on 240. In CA liii-lviii I. Williams rejects the figure 363 as a late interpolation.

1113. *O'r sawl.* Another instance of the def. art., cf. 244, 396, 869, 1011.

1113. *menestri.* In CA 373 I. Williams proposes a Latin derivation for *menestr* (through **mynystr* from *minister*), but nevertheless hesitates between this and a derivation from Med. French *menestre*, in which case the form would be demonstrably late, cf. also ibid., lvi. No other borrowing from French occurs in the Book of Aneirin.

1113. With lines 1113-14 compare 244-5.

1115. *Cynon a Chadraith a Chadlew.* Cf. 1057-8, *Cynan, Cynon, Teithfyw.* Cadlew is also mentioned in 291, and 246 refers to *Dau gatgi Aeron a Chynon.*

1116. *crau ddychiorant.* Lit. 'fall of blood', cf. Jackson, *God.*, 156, 'bloody fall'. *Dychiorant* is here a noun, cf. 142 where it has been taken as a verb, see CA 83; GPC 1115. Cf. 247, *A minnau o'm gwaetffrau.*

1117. *Mab coel certh.* I. Williams suggests in CA 353 that *mab coel* may be used here for a 'poet', cf. GPC 532 where *coel certh* is translated a 'sure sign or omen'. *Certh* probably describes *mab*, but in LIDC 26.8 is found associated with *coel, Ny credaw coel canyd kerth*, 'I do not believe an omen because it is not certain'. Cf. also *coel-certh*, a 'conflagration', in 992.

1117. *fy ngwerth i.* This account of the holding of Aneirin to ransom may be compared with the reference to his rescue by force in 489-92.

1118. *dur.* Probably valuable steel weapons or armour, see Jackson, *God.*, 23.

1119. *Einiwed, nid nodded.* Cf. 489-92, *O nerth y cleddyf claer y'm hamug . . . Cenau fab Llywarch.*

1120. *cyfnofant.* A noun used adjectivally.

GLOSSARY

A

a[1] *interrog. part.* 209.

a[2] *introd. part. (with inf. obj. pron.)* 238, 429, 716, 745. See ***as, 'th, 'n.***

a[3] *conj.* and, 3, 20, 53, 60, 79, 81, 96, 105, 125, 128, 136, 147, 155, 190, 191, 205, 212, 231, 236, 241, 243(2), 246, 247, 266, 273, 279, 305, 306, 332(3), 341, 342(2), 345, 355, 357, 358, 359(2), 363(2), 408, 415, 418, 444, 445, 494, 498, 500, 504, 538, 539, 545, 548(2), 550, 557, 619(2), 624, 629, 642(2), 647, 688, 712(2), 716, 723, 747, 752, 753, 757, 770(2), 780, 784, 790, 796, 820, 832, 840, 850(2), 851, 855, 863, 868, 877, 901(2), 904, 906, 940, 941(2), 960, 965, 977, 992, 996, 1012(2), 1043, 1051, 1075, 1111(2), 1115(2), 1116, 1118; ***ac,*** 112, 269, 275, 341, 343, 351, 357, 396, 454, 502, 503, 559, 688, 699, 766, 768(2), 779(?), 819, 861, 869, 884, 896, 905, 1106, 1118; ***a(c)*** . . . ***a(c),*** both . . . and, 72(4), 226(2), 581(2), 968(2).

a[4] *rel. pron. & part.* who, whom, which, that, 19, 32, 42(2), 67, 74, 78, 84, 90, 94, 96, 100, 107, 115, 124, 131, 147, 151, 154, 156, 157, 204, 222, 223, 235, 240, 337, 347, 350, 356, 385, 396(2), 433, 452, 458, 467, 468, 485, 515, 526, 527, 536, 537, 548, 550, 621, 657, 754, 817, 821, 858, 859, 860, 865, 869, 876, 884, 886, 943, 946, 952, 959, 990, 991, 992, 995, 996, 1061, 1068, 1103, 1117.

â *prep.* with; as, 10, 21, 68, 76, 110, 136, 137, 144, 225, 300, 393, 398, 441, 445, 663, 845, 899, 915, 1011; ***ag,*** 721, 776, 807.

ab *n.* son, 942. See ***am, mab.***

achaws *n.* purpose, 728.

achub *v.n.* seize; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***achubai,*** 312.

achubiad *n.* seizer, attacker, 506; *plur.* ***achubiaid,*** 344.

achyhoedd *adj.* inconspicuous, 723.

adaf *n.* hand, 399, 416, 975.

adan *n.* arm, 175.

a dan *prep.* up to, towards, 848, 849. See ***o dan.***

adanaw 754, see ***o dan.***

adar *plur. n.* (carrion) birds, 572, 975, 1084.

adaw *v.n.* leave, 283; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***edewi,*** 886; ***adawai*** 218, 284; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***edewis,*** 285; *impers. pret.*, ***edewid,*** 273; *1st. sing. pluperf.*, ***adawswn,*** 89.

adfan *n.* circumference, 370.

adfaon *plur. n.* timid host(s), 746.

adfeilliog *adj.* bitter, sorrowful, 380, 549, 1064.

adlam *n.* home, resting-place, 350.

adleddawr *n.* ? slayer, 139. See ***athleddawr.***

adloyw *adj.* bright, blazing, 818.

adnabod *v.n.* know; *1st. sing. pres. ind.*, ***adwen,*** 989; *n.* ***adnabod,*** understanding, 316.
adrannu *v.n.* share out; *impers. pret.*, ***adranned,*** 657.
adrawdd *v.n.* relate, tell, 349, 926; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***adrawdd,*** 37, 253, 261, 458, 461, 616, 659, 762; *impers. pres. ind.*, ***adroddir,*** 141; *impers. pret.*, ***adrodded,*** 794.
adwanu *v.n.* strike again; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***adwanai,*** 962; *impers. imperf. ind.*, ***adwenid,*** 385.
adwriaeth *n.* cowardice, 284.
adwy *n.* breach, gap, 284.
adwyar *adj.* bloody, blood-stained, 612, 1085.
adwyth *n.* destruction, 389.
adwythig *adj.* destructive, deadly, 918.
addef *n.* abode, home, 316, 773, 895.
addefog *adj.* steadfast, 379.
addo *v.n.* promise; *2nd. sing. pluperf.*, ***addawsud,*** 526.
addon *n.* attribute, 393.
aelawd *n.* affliction, 252.
aer *n.* battle, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 597, 609, 690.
aerfaidd *adj.* daring in war, 173.
aerfre *n.* battle-slope, 270.
aergwn *plur. n.* war-hounds, warriors, 87.
aergynglys *n.* champion's court, 701.
aes *n.* shield, 165; *plur.* ***aesawr,*** 134, 218, 1042.
aesawr *n.* shield, 738, 957.
afar *n.* sorrow, 896.
afneued *n.* plenty, 773, 835.
affan *n.* suffering, 323; *adj.* taking pains with, 18.
affwys *n.* abyss, depths, 681.
agerw *n.* battle, 157, 710; violent enemy, 721.
angad *n.* hand, 330, 335.
angai 1013, *see* ***engi.***
angar *adj.* hostile, 491.
angau *n.* death, 73, 83, 112, 266, 491, 765.
angawr *adj.* greedy, insatiable, 349.
angell *n.* leg, 523.
angen *n.* requirement, exigency, destiny, 146.
anghyfan *adj.* broken, shattered, 55, 320, 344. Cf. ***anghyman.***
anghyfarch *n.* something unsought, 857.
anghyfwng *n.* sorrow, loss, 857.
anghyffred *n.* affliction, 765.
anghyman *adj.* broken, 263, 1015, 1073. Cf. ***anghyfan.***
anghynnull *adj.* scattered, 263, 1014, 1072.
anghysgoged *adj.* steadfast, 263.
angor *n.* anchor, 395, 561, 577, 587, 827.
angwedd *n.* straits, distress, pressure, 1016.
angwy 515, see ***engi.***

ail *adj.* second, other; like, similar; worthy of, 269, 570, 766, 839; *n.* son, 373, 760.
aillt *n.* man, liegeman, subject, 381, 704; *adj.* well nurtured, 933.
ais *plur. n.* lances, spears, 265, 1044; laths, splinters,? 696.
alaf *n.* cattle-herd, 412; *plur.* ***alafawr,*** 425.
alan *n.* deer, 949.
allawr *n.* altar, 63, 362.
alltud *adj.* foreign, 259.
am[1] *n.* son, 576. See ***ab, mab.***
am[2] *prep.* for, to, on, over, with, 50, 295{2}, 437, 438{2}, 439, 448, 450, 614, 693, 694, 697, 730, 900; about, 698; around, 611, 626, 692, 839, 900, 992, 1021; ***am ben,*** around, 477; ***am gwr,*** around, 509. See ***i am.***
amad *adj.* mixed, 899.
ambwyll *adj.* of many moods, ? wise, cautious, 511, 512.
amceuddai *v. 3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, spoke, said, 291.
amdrychion *plur. adj.* broken (men), 648.
amddias *adj.* boisterous, noisy, clamorous, 12.
amddiffryd *adj.* brandishing, defending, 737.
amddiffwys *adj.* huge, dire, 737.
amddiffyn *v.n.* defend, 947.
amddistair *adj.* ? genial, 511.
amddistardd *adj.* ? turbulent, 511.
amddyfrwys *adj.* powerful, 748.
amefl *n.* shame, 892.
amhafal *adj.* like, similar, 835.
amluch *adj.* ? splendid, brilliant, 460.
amnad *adj.* skilful, 698.
amod *n.* agreement, pledge, 42, 227, 431.
amodi *v.n.* pledge; *impers. pret.*, ***amoded,*** 654.
amrant *n.* eyelid, 538.
amroddig *adj.* thoughtful, 512.
amrychwardd *adj.* merry, 512.
amwyn *v.n.* defend, protect, 866, 906; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***amug,*** 441, 443, 489; *v.n.* seize, 464; fight for; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***amygyn,*** 143; enjoy; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***amug,*** 556; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***amucsant,*** 548.
anant *coll. n.* minstrels, 641.
anaw *n.* wealth, riches, 1090.
anawr *n.* power, might, 160.
ancwyn *n.* feast, 79, 354, 419.
andaw *v.n.* listen to, hear; *impers. imperf. ind.*, ***endewid,*** 779; ***yndewid,*** 952.
anfonog *adj.* eminent, noble, famous, 303, 372; ***anfonawg*** 255, 259.
anianawr *plur. n.* natures, ardours, 101.
anias *n.* fighting, battle, 298.
annawdd *n.* cruelty, 110.

annibellt *adj.* broken, shattered, 218.
annwyd *n.* fury, frenzy, 631.
ansgogedfaen *n.* immovable rock, 589.
anwar *adj.* cruel, 490.
anwaws *adj.* coarse, harsh, 779.
anysgoged *adj.* steadfast, 841, 915.
anysgogfaen *n.* immovable rock, 578.
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cyn[2] *conj.* though, although, 295, 951, 972. See ***cyd.***
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cyneued *n.* blaze, kindling, 651.
cynfaran *n.* ferocity, furious struggle, 980.
cynhebyg *adj.* like, similar, 413.

cynheilwad *n.* protector, 462.
cynhennu *v.n.* dispute, contest; *impers. imperf. ind.*, ***cynhennid,*** 436.
cynhorawr *adj.* leading, front-line (horse), 429.
cynhorfan *n.* front rank, 180.
cynhorog *adj.* leading, in the forefront (of battle), 31, 49, 56.
cyni *n.* hardship, combat, 879.
cynifiad *n.* warrior, 40.
cynifyn *n.* warrior, 463.
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cynnan *adj.* loud, 134; splendid, praiseworthy, 755.
cynneddf *n.* custom, 684, 750.
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cynnif *v.n.* strive, fight, 663.
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cywest *n.* resting-place, 708.
cywilydd *n.* shame, 108.
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cywrennin *adj.* skilled, skilful, 482, 682.
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cywyd *n.* thought, intention, 682.
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daffar *n.* purpose, 324.
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deigr *n.* tear (? tears), 538.
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deon *plur. n.* good men, trusted warriors, 897.
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detholwyr *plur. n.* chosen men, picked warriors, 898.
deuddeg *num.* twelve, 447.
deulin *dual n.* knees, 477.
dewr *adj.* brave, valiant, 114, 522, 775.
deyerin *adj.* earthy, 475.
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dibennor *adj.* clear, unhindered, 530.
dichwant *adj.* heedless, reckless, 546.
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didrachywedd *adj.* unharmful, not destructive, 233.
diddichwant *adj.* generous, 640.
diebryd *v.n.* deprive of; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***diebyrth,*** 277.
diechyr *adj.* invincible, 828.
diedyng *adj.* harsh, 557
diedyrn *adj.* light, easy, 143.
diesig *adj.* vigorous, lively, 183, 382.
difa *v.n.* destroy, 698; *adj.* destroyed, slain, 278.
difant *n.* oblivion, disappearance, 61; *adj.* lost, 629.
difefl *adj.* without fail, 184.
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difuddiog *adj.* tireless, 622.
difwrn *adj.* swift, 656.
difyngu *v.n.* rush; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***difyngi,*** 622.
diffaith *adj.* waste, 287,
difflais *adj.* faithful, 90.
diffred *n.* defence, protection, 838.
diffun *adj.* breathless, shy, diffident, 32.
diffwys *adj.* devastated, 438.
diffyn *v.n.* defend; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***diffynnai,*** 324.
digythrudd *adj.* untroubled, assured, 854.
dihafarch *adj.* intrepid, undaunted, 282, 492.
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dihenydd *n.* death, 834.
dihyll *adj.* gentle, not fierce, 308.
dilain *v.n.* destroy, slay, 686.
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dilyfn *adj.* rough, 813.
dilyn *v.n.* follow, pursue; ***dilin,*** 484, 672; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***dilynai,*** 34, 151.
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dinas *n.* fortress, refuge, 377, 394, 468.
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diwedd *n.* end, death, 57.
diwyd *adj.* faithful, assiduous, 893.
diwylliad *n.* cultivator, 442.
dodi *v.n.* set, fix, lay, place, raise; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***dodes,*** 403, 518, 633, 732, 733, 761, 810; *impers. pret.*, ***doded,*** 821.
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dofod *n.* gift, prize, fortune, 526.
dogn *adj.* full, sufficient, 1102.
dôr *n.* door; protector, 7, 395, 466.
dragon *n.* ruler, prince, 249, 289.
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drem *n.* eye, 530.
drud *adj.* valiant, bold, 233, 492.
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drych *n.* mirror, aspect, 505.
du *adj.* black; angry, 722, 971.
dull *n.* rank, array, 257, 263, 547, 775, 991, 1015, 1073; appearance, 822.
dulliad *n.* arranger, planner, 442.
dur *n.* steel, 343, 1069, 1118; *adj.* harsh, cruel, 138.
durawd *adj.* harsh, 249.
dwfn *adj.* deep, 1075.
dwyn *v.n.* bear, carry, bring, deliver; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***dygai,*** 892; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***dug,*** 490, 571; ***ry-ddug,*** 740; *2nd. sing. imper.*, ***dwg,*** 1004(2). See ***dy-ddwyn.***
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dy-ddwyn *v.n.* bear, bring, take, lead; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***dyddygai,*** 846, 1008; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***dy-ddug,*** 817, 894. See ***dwyn.***
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echiog *adj.* sad, 855.
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edlydan *adj.* far-reaching, 368.
edmyg *adj.* honoured, praised, 868.
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ehangsaid *adj.* broad-hafted, 1094.
ehelaeth *adj.* generous, ample, many, 120, 283, 288, 934.
ehud *adj.* rapid, swift, 271.
ei *poss. pron. 3rd. pers. sing.* his, her, its, 28, 33, 42, 43, 59, 64, 70, 118, 121, 125, 127, 128, 132, 149(2), 152, 153, 168, 169, 179, 183, 185, 223, 255, 268, 271, 277(2), 278, 279, 280, 281(2), 283, 285, 286, 287, 296(2), 297, 299, 304, 307(2), 309, 311, 313, 314, 324, 336, 361, 369, 370, 376, 378, 379, 386, 388, 389, 399, 405, 409, 434, 442, 452, 453, 486, 499, 502, 507, 509, 520, 521, 522, 538, 624, 626, 630, 633, 683, 693, 704, 714, 725, 728, 732, 743, 748, 750, 759, 761, 778, 824, 826(2), 832, 835, 836, 840, 855, 861, 862(2), 902, 926, 938, 940, 952, 955, 957, 959, 963, 965, 966, 975, 1002(2), 1077, 1080, 1091, 1100, 1103; ***'i,*** 57, 64, 112, 125, 128, 266, 330, 441, 494, 497, 501, 524, 538, 606, 624, 740, 744, 747, 759, 840, 855, 885, 915, 940, 941(2), 1011, 1077, 1080.
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eidduno *v.n.* long for, desire; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***eidduni,*** 621.
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eiliw *n.* shape, form, 89; colour, 904.
eilywed *n.* lamentation, 768.
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erfagu *v.n.* nurture; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind. with inf. obj. pron.*, ***erydfagai,*** 888. See ***-yd-.***
erfid *n.* battle, 171.
erfyn *n.* weapon, 1094.
erglywiad *n.* report, that which is heard, acclaim, 986.
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ergyd *n.* blow, 48.
ergyr *n.* host, 795.
ergyrwayw *adj.* spear-thrusting, 404.
erlyniad *n.* pursuer, 983.
ermygu *v.n.* make, prepare; *1st. sing. pres. ind. with inf. obj. pron.*, ***erydmygaf,*** 413; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***ermygai,*** 228; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind. with inf. obj. pron.*, ***erysmygai,*** 215. See ***-yd-, -ys-.***
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esgyn *v.n.* approach, 684; retreat, flee, 689; *3rd. sing. imperf., ind.*, ***esgynnai,*** 234.
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ffawd *n.* fate, 232.
ffêr *adj.* mighty, 376.
ffestiniawr *n.* speedy defender, 428.
ffin *n.* border, boundary, 232, 403, 428.
fflam *n.* flame, fire, 731.
fflamddur *adj.* with flaming steel, 720.
ffo *n.* flight, 505.
ffoawr *n.* runaway, fugitive, 744.
ffodiog *adj.* fortunate, 415.
ffosawd *n.* battle, 245, 253, 261.
ffowys *adj.* fugitive, fleeing, 376.
ffraeth *adj.* swift, spirited, 78, 353, 542, 634.
ffrawdd *n.* ferocity, 945.
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ffrwythlam *n.* mighty charge, 793.
ffrwythlon *adj.* vigorous, 85, 720.
ffun *n.* breath, 801.
ffyrf *adj.* sturdy, 85.
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geni *v.n.* be born; *impers. pret.*, ***ganed,*** 576.
glân *adj.* bright, shining, 17, 257.
glas *adj.* blue, steely-hued, pale, 17, 740, 1046; green, 186, 759.
glasfedd^{1} *n.* green grave, ? early burial, 832.
glasfedd^{2} *n.* fresh mead, 79.
glasog *n.* bluish-grey sword, 747.
glasu *v.n.* grow pale, 832.
glew *adj.* bold, brave, undaunted, 377, 391, 755; *comp.*, ***glewach,*** 859.
glin *n.* knee, 474.
gloes *n.* agony, 765.
gloyw *adj.* clear, bright, sparkling, 148, 257, 335, 547, 625.
glud *adj.* steadfast, 239.
glwys *adj.* fair, handsome, 438, 702.
glyw *n.* battle, 77, 293.
gnawd *adj.* usual, customary, 453, 499, 947, 949, 950, 951, 953, 954.
gnisio *v.n.* neigh; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***gnisynt,*** 725.
gno *adj.* evident, manifest, 4.
go *prep.* under, 597, 609, 767.
gobedror *adj.* reaching in all directions, scattered, 1044.
gobell *n.* saddle, 521.
goborthiad *n.* feeder, 1084.
gobrwy *n.* merit, 593.

gochanu *v.n.* sing; *1st. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gochanwn,*** 1000; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***gochenyn,*** 1000.
gochawn *n.* pride, honour, 1095.
gochel *v.n.* avoid; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gocheli,*** 881.
gochori *v.n.* feed, satisfy; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gochorai,*** 971.
gochwerw *adj.* churlish, 713.
godechu *v.n.* flee; *impers. pret.*, ***godeched,*** 957; ***godechwyd,*** 44.
godrudd *adj.* fierce, impetuous, 560, 875.
godwrf *n.* sound, noise, 957.
goddef *v.n.* suffer, 765; ***gwoddef,*** 887.
goddeu *n.* aim, purpose, 697.
goddiwes *v.n.* overtake, 515; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***goddiwawdd,*** gained, 50.
goddoli *v.n.* mete out, apportion, give; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***goddolai,*** 495, 496, 970.
goeithin *adj.* savage, ferocious, 300, 761.
gofalon *plur. n.* cares, 989.
gofaran *adj.* ferocious, wrathful, 318, 828.
gofeg *n.* speech, expression, 482.
gofel *adj.* sweet, 172.
gofri *adj.* noble, 618.
gofyn *v.n.* ask, make claim; *1st. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gofynnaf,*** 1.
goglysur *n.* armed power, 718.
gognaw *v.n.* provoke, 67.
gogyfarch *v.n.* ask; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gogyferchi,*** 207.
gogyfergyr *adj.* fighting side by side, 689.
gogyfoed *adj.* contemporary, comradely, 689.
gogyffrawd ? *v. 3rd. sing. pret.*, ? caused anxiety, 248.
gogyhwg *adj.* swift, 1003.
gogymwyd *adj.* coequal; parallel, 717.
gohir *n.* postponement, 837.
golo *v.n.* bury, cover, 279, 853, 863, 965.
golud *adj.* persistent, tenacious, 467, 668.
gomyniad *n.* hewer, feller, 329, 1093.
gomynu *v.n.* cut down; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gomynai,*** 36.
gon 911, ?
goradain *adj.* winged, 1013.
gorau *superl. adj.* best, 685.
gorchan *n.* song, poem, lay, 1097; ***gwarchan,*** 3, 1096, 1101, 1120.
gorchynnan *adj.* renowned, 364.
gorchyrddon *plur. n.* retinues, 628, 645.
gordrachwres *adj.* fiery, 118.
gorddin *n.* provocation, 471.
gorddirod *plur. n.* enemy, enemies, 464.
gorddwy *n.* pressure, force, 594.
gorddyfnad *adj.* accustomed, 710.
gorddyfnu *v.n.* be wont to, be accustomed to; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gorddyfnwys,*** 808.

gorddygnaw *v.n.* defy, 753.
goreu 108, 111, 114, 1061, see ***gwneuthur.***
goreuraid *adj.* gilded, 1103.
gorfawr *adj.* great, mighty, 86, 365, 748.
gorfloddiad *n.* terrifier, 985.
gorfod *v.n.* prevail, conquer; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gorfydd,*** 744.
gorfynt *adj.* proud, 135.
gorffen *n.* end, 868.
gorffin *n.* border, boundary, 709.
gorllin *n.* great host, 1059.
gormant *adj.* plentiful, 244; mighty, 417.
gormes *n.* oppressor, enemy, 403.
gorod *n.* concealment, grave, 685.
gorolchi *v.n.* wash over; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gorolches,*** 281.
gorsaf *n.* station, position, 98, 771.
gorsedd *n.* court, 493.
gorth *n.* battle-station, 296.
gorthir *n.* uplands; border, 856.
gorthorred *n.* outbreak, 650.
gorug 266, 431, 485, 1102, see ***gwneuthur.***
gorun *n.* turmoil, 719.
gorwedd *v.n.* lie, lie buried, 708.
gorwydd *n.* horse, 430, 742; *dim.*, ***gorwyddan,*** 269.
gorwylam *n.* ? successful assault, 792.
gosgordd *n.* retinue, 99, 106, 339, 543, 549, 736, 903.
gosgroyw *adj.* fresh, 820.
gŏwn 824, 825, see ***gwybod.***
gowychydd *adj.* excellent, 314. See ***gwychydd.***
graddforion *plur. adj.* long-striding (horses), 1086.
graen *adj.* terrible, 562, 588.
graid *n.* battle, 310, 406, 411, 1107.
gran *n.* cheek, 52, 832; *plur.* ***grannawr,*** 910.
gre ? *v. 3rd. sing. pres. ind.* ? pleases, 667.
greddf *n.* strength, might, 11.
grudd *n.* cheek, 853.
grugiar *n.* grouse, 1009.
gryd *n.* fight, tumult, 397.
grynio *v.n.* press, thrust; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gryniai,*** 961; *impers. pret.*, ***grynied,*** 961.
gwaddol *n.* dowry, 92.
gwae *int.* woe!, 808, 896.
gwaed *n.* blood, 35, 64, 235, 692, 852.
gwaedlan *n.* field of blood, 130.
gwaedlawr *n.* field of blood, battle-field, 23.
gwaedlin *n.* flow of blood, bloodshed, 302, 658, 674, 760.
gwaedd *n.* army, 752.
gwael *adj.* mean, base, 5, 916.
gwaenog *adj.* adventurous, performing feats, 872.

gwaetffrau *n.* blood-shedding, 247.
gwaeth *comp. adj.* worse, 528, 945.
gwaith[1] *n.* work, deed(s), 70, 1054.
gwaith[2] *n.* battle, struggle, 839, 881.
gwallt *n.* hair, 439, 1043.
gwan *adj.* weak, 5, 606.
gwân, gwanu *v.n.* strike, slay; charge, rush; approach; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gwenid,*** 848, 849; *3rd. plur. pres. ind.*, ***gwanan,*** 749; *2nd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwanud,*** 235; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwanai,*** 230, 385, 891; ***rywanai,*** 962; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***gwenynt,*** 635; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gwant,*** 673, 967; *impers. pret.*, ***gwaned,*** 8, 516, 891; ***rywaned,*** 962; *3rd. sing. pres. subj.*, ***gwanwy,*** may chance upon, happen, 515.
gwanar *adj.* ardent, eager, 74; *n.* war, battle, 151, ? 669 (*or* ? lord).
gwaneg *n.* wave, 275.
gwarchadw *v.n.* preserve, protect; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwarchadwai,*** 312.
gwarchan 3, 1096, 1101, 1120, see ***gorchan.***
gwared[1] *n.* escape, deliverance, 791; draught, 914.
gwared[2] *v.n.* run under; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwaredai,*** 156.
gwareus *adj.* lively, spirited, 430.
gwarth *n.* shame, 493, 912.
gwas[1] *n.* youth, 11.
gwas[2] *n.* abode, 238.
gwasgar *n.* spray, 275.
gwasgarog *adj.* scattered (? shattered), 378.
gwastad *adj.* steadfast, unceasing, 896; *comp.*, ***gwastadach,*** 860.
gwawd *n.* song, poetry, 22.
gwawr *n.* dawn, 94, 100, 131, 217, 390, 484, 701, 995.
gwayw *n.* spear, 633, 940, 954, 1103; ***gwoyw,*** 624; *plur.* ***gwaywawr,*** 97, 180, 271, 293, 320, 358, 386, 567, 890.
gwedi *prep.* after, 81, 253, 289, 335, 616, 659, 764, 963; ***wedi,*** 772, 789.
gwefrawr *plur. n.* amber beads, 50.
gwehyn *v.n.* draw tight, 904.
gweilging *n.* rod, branch, pillar, 669.
gweilwion *plur. adj.* grey (horses), 725.
gweinyddiawr *adj.* profitable, rendering service, 449.
gweirwiad *n.* embittered one, 664.
gweirydd *adj.* faithful, 151.
gweithien *n.* combat, battle, 449.
gweithred *n.* deed, 574, 595.
gweled *v.n.* see, 766; *1st. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gwelaf,*** 396; *1st. sing. pret.*, ***gwelais,*** 396, 991, 993, 995; *2nd. sing. pret.*, ***gwelaist,*** 531; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gweles,*** 336; *impers. pret.*, ***gweled,*** 658, 916, 955; *3rd. plur. pret. pass.*, ***gwelideint,*** 839.

gwelid *n.* feast, 781.
gwelydd *n.* champion, 1026; *plur.* ***gwelyddon,*** 1027.
gwell *comp. adj.* better, 21, 43, 210, 638, 931, 943.
gwellin *adj.* grassy, 1089.
gwên *n.* smile, 503.
Gwener, Diw *n.* Friday, 655.
gwenwawd *n.* fair song, 247, 444.
gwenwyn *adj.* bitter, cruel, 79, 350, 964.
gwerin *n.* people, men, host, 144, 479.
gwernin *adj.* alder-grown, 569.
gwernor *n.* palisade, 974.
gwerth *n.* value, payment, 340; ransom, 1117; *prep.* in return for, on account of, 51, 65, 247, 408, 414, 757; ***yng ngwerth,*** 926; *conj.* ***gwerth na,*** because . . . not, 238.
gwerthfawr *adj.* of great worth, 51.
gwerthu *v.n.* sell; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gwerthws,*** 223.
gweryd *n.* earth, 445, 692, 853.
gwialen *n.* spear, 441.
gwin *n.* wine, 51, 170, 172, 212, 231, 235, 241, 256, 408, 548, 557, 625, 757, 831, 883.
gwinfaeth *n.* wine-feast, 289, 539, 545; *adj.* wine-fed, reared on wine, 352, 627, 914, 933; *plur.* ***gwinfaith,*** 418.
gwir *adj.* true, 291, 550.
gwirod *n.* (strong) drink, liquor, 154, 408, 757; ***gwirawd,*** 170, 241, 244, 250; *plur.* ***gwirodau,*** 1065.
gwirwar *n.* ? pleasure, ? feast, 248.
gwisgiadur *n.* one clothed in, wearer, 648.
gwisgo *v.n.* put on, wear, arm; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gwisgws,*** 978; ***gwisgwys,*** 939; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***gwisgasant,*** 652.
gwiw *adj.* excellent, 969.
gwlad *n.* land, 316, 623, 773, 1100.
gwlatgordd *n.* land's multitude, people, 691.
gwledig *n.* lord, prince, 162, 383, 951.
gwledd *n.* feast, 340, 572, 833.
gwlith *n.* dew, dew-fall, 274.
gŵnedd *n.* battle, 229, 421, 613, 622, 786, 1099; ***gŵr gŵnedd*** = warrior.
gwneddgar *adj.* warlike, 872.
gwneuthur *v.n.* make, do, act, perform; *1st. sing. fut. ind.*, ***gwneif,*** 21; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwnâi,*** 251, 302; ***gwnëi,*** 880, 884; *2nd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***gwnaewch,*** 674; *1st. sing. pret.*, ***gwraith,*** 998; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***goreu,*** 108, 111, 114, 1061; ***gorug,*** 266, 431, 485, 1102; ***ryorug,*** 435; ***gwnaeth,*** 43, 70, 354; ***ry-wnaeth,*** 611; ***gworeu,*** 631, 946; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***gwnaethant,*** 109, 537, 1117; *impers. pret.*, ***gwnaethpwyd,*** 364, 372, 382, 391; *2nd. sing. imperf. subj.*, ***gwnelud,*** 527, 528; *3rd. sing. imperf. subj.* ***gwnelai,*** 367, 527.

gwogant *n.* circuit, circle, 816.
gworudd *adj.* red, bloodied, 600.
gŵr *n.* man, warrior, 11, 39, 57, 107, 115, 131, 135(3), 210, 256, 258, 276, 322, 421, 485, 544, 552, 622, 661, 720, 763, 833, 870, 933, 935, 943, 1045, 1048, 1099; *plur.* ***gwŷr,*** 36, 60, 67, 74, 78, 84, 94, 100, 151, 214, 229, 240, 266, 278, 337, 347, 352, 356, 417, 440, 465, 505, 546, 581, 644, 767, 769, 771, 796, 828, 912, 932, 990, 995, 1036, 1067.
gwragedd *plur. n.* women, 266, 537.
gwraith *n.* work, deed(s), 70, 607.
gwrdd *adj.* mighty, 57, 771.
gwrddfedel *n.* mighty reaper, 691. See ***medel.***
gwrfan *adj.* skilful, able, 749.
gwrfydd *adj.* ? long-lasting, enduring, 127.
gwrhydri *n.* prowess, valour, 245.
gwriaf *superl. adj.* most valiant, bravest, 98, 397, 771.
gwriawr *n.* battle, combat, 57, 98.
gwrmdde *adj.* dark, threatening, 669.
gwrmgaen *n.* dark-blue armour, 563.
gwrmseirch *n.* dark-blue armour or harness, 357, 500, 688.
gwrmwn *adj.* with dark-blue sockets, 86.
gwrol *n.* hero, 92; ***gwrawl,*** 748.
gwroledd *n.* valour, heroic deed, 485.
gwron *n.* hero, 600.
gwrthiad *n.* resister, opposer, 432.
gwrthod *v.n.* repel, repulse; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***gwrthodes,*** 52, 774, 1037.
gwryd *n.* courage, valour, 3, 12, 127, 280, 397, 414, 620, 749, 762.
gwrŷs *n.* attack, 52, 701.
gwyalfan *n.* place or position of spears, 130, 322, 1054.
gwyar *n.* blood, 52, 289, 428, 500, 774.
gwyarllyd *adj.* blood-stained, 97.
gwybod[1] *v.n.* know; *1st. sing. pres. ind.*, ***göwn,*** 824, 825; ***gwn,*** 540; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gŵyr,*** 481; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***gwyddiai,*** 222.
gwybod[2] *n.* courtesy, 314.
gwych *adj.* fine, powerful, 415.
gwychnawd *n.* bold spirit, 453.
gwychog *adj.* splendid, brave, 415; ***gwychiawg,*** 257.
gwychydd *adj.* splendid, 114. See ***gowychydd.***
gwychyr *adj.* brave, 229; *plur.*, ***gwychyrolion,*** 843.
gwydrin *n.* glass cup or vessel, 776.
gwydrlestri *plur. n.* glass vessels, 625, 883.
gŵydd *n.* presence, 2, 752.
gwŷdd *plur. n.* trees, 613.
gwyddgwn *plur. n.* wolves, 330.
gwyddug *adj.* fierce, 441.

gwyddw *plur. adj.* widowed, 266, 537.
gwylad *n.* guardian, 1098.
gwylaes 911, ?
gwyledd *n.* modesty, 305.
gwyllias *n.* fury, frenzy, 185, 1045.
gwyllion *plur. n.* wild men, 1088.
gwyn *adj.* white, 105, 819, 822(2), 910.
gwynfyd *n.* delight, blessedness, 469.
gwyniaith *n.* vengeance, slaughter, 70.
gwynoddi *v.n.* stain; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***gwynoddyd,*** 97.
gwyran *n.* grass, 161.
gwyrdd *adj.* green, 217, 390, 692.
gŵyth *n.* anger, strife, battle, 380, 389, 454, 881.
gwythog *adj.* savage, 788; ***gwythawg,*** 837.
gwythwch *n.* wild boar, 1008, 1012.
gynnon *plur. n.* tribes, 207.
gyrth *adj.* hard, 937.

H

haearn *n.* iron, armour, 488; *plur.* ***heyrn,*** weapons, weaponry, 138, 718.
haeddod *n.* merit, desert, 465.
hael *adj.* noble, bountiful, 392, 825, 854; *plur.* ***haelon,*** 1087.
haeladdon *n.* bountiful lord, 486.
haid *n.* herd, 970.
hanfod *v.n.* be; *1st sing. pres. ind.*, ***handwyf,*** 420, 549; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***handid,*** 781.
heb *prep.* without, 76, 283, 401(2), 452.
hedd[1] *n.* peace, 69.
hedd[2] *n.* dwelling-place, 95.
heinif *adj.* vigorous, 935, 940.
helia *v.n.* hunt, 1001.
helw *n.* protection, 714, 725.
hen *adj.* old, 72.
hennydd *n.* opponent, adversary, 112.
herw *n.* pillaging, plundering, 722.
heu *adj.* undecided, 308.
hëu *v.n.* cast, throw; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***hëyn,*** 890; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***heesid,*** 265, 293, 297, 409.
heyernin *adj.* iron, 476.
hidlaid *adj.* strained, clarified, 338.
hir *adj.* long, lasting, enduring, 142, 145, 149, 351, 400, 535, 768; tall, 66, 125, 147, 647, 856, 863.
hiraeth *n.* longing, 349, 1066.
hiriell *adj.* long yellow, 501.
hirlu *n.* great host, 986.
hoed *n.* grief, 142, 535, 814.

hoedl *n.* life, 535.
hoedlddianc *adj.* seeking (or likely) to escape alive, 920.
hoedlfyrion *plur. adj.* short-lived, 338.
hoffi *v.n.* praise; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***hoffeint,*** 643.
hu *adv.* or *prev. part.* so, thus, 514, 553, 555, 641; ***hud,*** 405, 556, 624.
hual *n.* chain, fetter, 835.
huan *n.* sun, sunlight, 161; *adj.* radiant, 271.
huddo *v.n.* appease, satisfy; *impers. pret.*, ***huddid,*** 185.
hwn *pron.* he, this one, 111.
hwyr *adj.* slow, reluctant, 159.
hyd *n.* length of time, 703; *prep.* up to, until, 658, 868; ***hyd pan,*** *conj.* so that, 930.
hydr *adj.* hard, powerful, 45, 72.
hydd *n.* stag, 1008.
hyll *adj.* fierce, wild, unsightly, 308, 917.
hynaf *n.* leader, chieftain, 415.
hynt *n.* path, way, 697; ***ar hynt,*** forthwith, 803.
hyrddbaid *adj.* alternate, 503.
hywredd *n.* valour, 1031.

I

i[1] *prep.* to, for, 6, 7, 23, 24, 25, 26, 62(2), 63(2), 64, 71, 73, 82, 83, 93, 147, 215, 237, 257, 260, 272(2), 327, 346, 362, 363, 365, 377, 394, 413, 433, 468, 495, 496, 532, 572, 622, 631, 663, 684, 809, 834, 919, 932, 963, 1001, 1007, 1076, 1112; ***im,*** for me, 29; ***it,*** to thee, 400; ***iddo,*** for him, before him, 436, 617; ***iddaw,*** 525; ***i'w,*** for his, 1104; for their, 772; ***i lawr,*** down, 64.
i[2] *pers. pron.* I, 212, 825, 991, 993, 995, 1117. See ***mi.***
i[3]***, 'i*** *inf. obj. pron.* him, to him, it, 151, 154, 156, 222, 354, 467, 468, 485, 623, 996.
iäen *n.* ice, icy hue, 688.
i am *prep.* along with, 86; for, 440; around, 547. See ***am***[2].
i ar *prep.* on, upon, 429, 742, 885, 903, 947; from upon, 294, 298, 439. See ***ar.***
ieuainc *plur. adj.* young, 72.
i gan *prep.* from; ***i gennyn,*** from us, 539. See ***can***[2]***, gan.***
i gyd *adv.* together, 534.
i lwrw *prep.* like, in the manner of, 165, 374, 405.
Ionawr *n.* January, 286.
iôr *n.* lord, 400, 822, 823.
i rag *prep.* in the presence of, 1017, 1018, 1019. See ***rhag.***
irfedd *n.* fresh grave, 692.
is 52, see ***odd is.***
iwrch *n.* roe-buck, 1008.

LL

lladd *v.n.* strike, kill, 30, 683; ***lladdu,*** 605; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***lladd,*** 1006; *2nd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***lladdud,*** 527; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***lladdai,*** 126, 137, 225, 300, 398, 679, 775, 845, 915, 968; ***lleddi,*** 1005; *2nd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***lladdewch,*** 676; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***lleddynt,*** 76, 201, 635; ***lleddyn,*** 532; *3rd. sing. pret.* ***lladdodd,*** 925, 927; ***lleddesid,*** 226; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***lladdasan,*** 345; ***lladdasant,*** 536, 867; *impers. pret.*, ***ryladded,*** 867; *3rd. plur. pret. pass.*, ***lleseint,*** 345.
llaes *adj.* lowered, unraised, 426.
llafanad *n.* nature, 460.
llafar *adj.* clamorous, 781.
llafaru *v.n.* speak; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***lleferid,*** 778; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***llafarai,*** 952.
llafn *n.* blade, 225, 300, 398, 1043; *plur.* ***llafnau,*** 657, 1069; ***llafnawr,*** 59, 76, 86, 110, 137, 361, 389, 598, 740, 743, 909, 915, 955; spears, 409.
lläin *n. sing. & plur.* spear(s), 68, 105, 594, 758, 783, 845.
llaith *n.* death, 540, 695.
llannau *plur. n.* churches, 71, 82.
llanw *v.n.* fill; *impers. pret.*, ***llanwed,*** 834.
llariedd *n.* liberality, 305.
llary *adj.* generous, noble, 383, 393, 486, 823; *superl.* ***llariaf,*** 969.
llath *n.* spear, 1002.
llaw[1] *n.* hand, 70, 297, 376, 452, 501, 524, 748, 959, 1002.
llaw[2] *adj.* lowly, weak, 72.
llawchwerw *adj.* cruel of hand, 711.
llawen *adj.* joyful, 602, 640; *plur.* ***llewyn,*** 103.
llawer *adj.* many, 103, 538; *plur. pron.*, ***llewyr,*** 580.
llawn *adj.* full, 110, 494, 883.
llawr[1] *n.* floor, ground, 37, 599; ***i lawr,*** down, 64; *adj.* humbled, subjected, 436.
llawr[2] *adj. & n.* pre-eminent; champion, 135, 264, 605, 718, 739.
llawrwr *n.* champion, 601.
lle *adj.* grave, 668.
lleas *n.* death, slaughter, 541, 759.
lled *n.* width, 727; extent, flank, 394.
lledfegin *n.* petted favourite, one fostered, 313, 831.
lledrudd *adj.* blood-stained, 580, 598.
lledd *n.* ? bloodshed, 137.
llef *n.* cry, sound, 157.
lleiddiad *n.* slayer, 601, 722.
lleir 781, ?
lleithig *n.* bench, couch, 384, 754.
llemain *v.n.* leap, assault, 496.

llemenig *adj.* leaping, bounding (horse), 294.
llen *n.* mantle, 453.
lles *n.* profit, benefit, 285, 632, 715, 726, 812, 953, 1038, 1104. See ***ar.***
llestri *plur. n.* vessels, 494. See ***gwydrlestri.***
lletgynt *n.* sadness, 540.
lleu *adj.* lighted, 148; *n.* clearing, open land, 697.
llew[1] *n.* lion, 392, 945, 1006.
llew[2] *adj.* easy, 201, 676.
llewa *v.n.* feast, devour, drink greedily; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***llewes,*** 116, 735.
llewyn[1] *n.* ? lynx, 1012.
llewyn[2] 103, see ***llawen.***
llewyr 580, see ***llawer.***
lliant *n.* flow, flood, 314.
lliaws *n.* host, many, 778, 799.
llid *n.* anger, 502.
llifaid *adj.* sharpened, whetted, 225, 718, 780.
llithio *v.n.* feed (bird or animal); *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***llithiai,*** 330; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***llithiesid,*** 975; *impers. pret.*, ***llithiwyd,*** 41.
lliwed *n.* host, army, 905, 955, 1039; *plur.* ***lliwedawr,*** 65, 702.
lloflen *n.* hand, 630, 740.
llogell *n.* little place, 640.
llory *n.* club, 1002.
llosgi *v.n.* burn; *2nd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***llosgud,*** 527.
llu *n.* host, 78, 194, 377, 426, 436, 542, 722, 752, 784, 905, 925, 969.
lluarth *n.* herb-garden, 604.
lluch *adj.* lit up, blazing, flashing, 6, 7, 822. Cf. ***amluch.***
lludded *n.* weariness, toil, 659, 695, 764.
Llun, Diw *n.* Monday, 658.
llurig *n.* cuirass, mail-shirt, mail-coat, 936; *plur.* ***llurugau,*** 359.
llurugog *adj.* mail-clad, 194; *plur.* ***llurugogion,*** 540.
lluydd *n.* host, 811, 899.
lluyddog *adj.* leading a host, 711.
llwch *n.* lair, 1025.
llwrw *n.* path, track; manner, 159, 165, 374, 405, 949. See ***i lwrw.***
llwry *n.* javelin, 189.
llwybr *n.* path, 392.
llwybrdew *adj.* wide-tracked, 294.
llwyd[1] *n.* ? battle, 935.
llwyd[2] *adj.* grey, 630.
llwydedd *n.* greyness, 541.
llwynain *n.* ? fox, 1012.
llychwr *n.* daylight 6(2).
llydan *adj.* broad, 15.
llyddw *plur. adj.* low, 266.

llyfrddelw *adj.* of agile form, 728.
llym *adj.* sharp, harsh, 358; *comp.* ***llymach,*** 254, 262; *superl.* ***llymaf,*** 398.
llyn *n.* pool, 774; drink, 820.
llynwysawr *plur. n.* blood-stained men, 145, 497.
llys *n.* court, 285.
llyw *n.* chieftain, 459.
llywiadur *n.* helmsman, 608.
llywiwg *n.* ? prey, ? creature, 1005.

M

'm *inf. obj. & poss. pron.* me, to me, my, 247, 489, 490, 526, 550, 857, 858(2), 1068, 1103, 1116; ***ym,*** 798.
mab *n.* son, 3, 30, 54, 70, 130, 222, 267, 282, 290, 310, 331, 350, 371, 375, 400, 416, 447, 492, 627, 763, 848, 851, 864, 882, 927, 951, 987, 1105, 1117; *plur.* ***meibion,*** 144. See ***ab, am'.***
maban *n.* young son, 93, 260.
mad *adj.* fortunate, 516, 518, 576, 746.
maddau *v.n.* relinquish, let go; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***maddau,*** 307.
maer *n.* steward, 237; *plur.* ***meiri,*** 649.
maglawr *adj.* ensnaring, 102, 700, 745.
magu *v.n.* rear, nurture, care for; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***maeth,*** 350, 1068; *impers. pret.*, ***maged,*** 295; ***magwyd,*** 859; ***ryfaethpwyd,*** 47.
main[1] *adj.* slender, 16.
main[2] *plur. n.* stones, cairn, 28.
maint *n.* number, 213; *pron.* as many, as much, those, 34, 235, 623, 959.
mal *prep.* like, 134, 322, 328, 399, 422, 554, 625, 675; *conj.* as, 291, 1006. See ***fal.***
mall *n.* malt, 548.
mam *n.* mother, 350, 487, 538; *plur.* ***mamau,*** 309.
man *n.* post, position, 324.
maon *plur. n.* hosts, 142, 203, 632, 646.
marchog *n.* horseman, 196, 376, 410, 560, 620, 632; ***marchawg,*** 259; *plur.* ***marchogion,*** 531.
mariedd *n.* splendour, 1019.
marth *n.* sad wonder, 29.
marw *v.n.* die, 1033.
mau *poss. pron.* mine, 1068, 1091.
mawr *adj.* big, great, much, noble, 76, 213, 237, 264, 348, 365, 370, 435, 531, 543, 642, 925; *n.* great one, great warrior, 120; *plur. adj.* ***morion,*** 842.
mawrbwys *n.* great hardship, 735.
mawredd *n.* magnificence, 1018.
Mawrth, Diw *n.* Tuesday, 652.

maws *adj.* gentle, 8.
medel *n.* reaper, 171, 174, 301. See ***gwrddfedel, rhuddfedel.***
medd *n.* mead, 32, 65, 102, 121, 148, 169, 212, 231, 241, 250, 306, 335, 338, 340, 348, 408, 414, 478, 494, 548, 557, 614, 626, 642, 675, 700, 745, 757, 776, 790, 833, 906, 913, 966, 1047, 1051, 1070, 1079, 1113.
medd-dod *n.* drunkenness, 789.
meddfaeth *n.* mead-feast, 539, 545; *adj.* mead-nourished, 84; *plur.* ***meddfaith,*** 418.
meddgwyn *n.* mead-feast, 116.
meddgyrn *plur. n.* mead-horns, 381, 864.
meddu *v.n.* have, possess; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.*, ***medd,*** 693; *2nd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***meddud,*** 236.
meddud *n.* enjoyment, joy, 366.
meddwaint *n.* drunkenness, 642.
meddwawd *adj.* intoxicating, 169.
meddwn ? *n.* ? host, 84.
meddwon *plur. adj.* drunk, 338.
mehyr ? *plur. n.* ? spears, 213.
meiniell *adj.* slender bay (horse), 298.
meinllwyd *adj.* slender grey (horse), 519.
meinoethydd *plur. n.* middle of night(s), 116.
meirch *plur. n.* horses, 13, 292, 357, 388, 559, 581, 642, 688, 796, 830, 840, 861, 875, 889, 901, 904, 924.
meirw *plur. n.* the dead, 235.
meitin *n.* morning, 670, 1047.
meithin ? *adj.* ? nourished, well-fed; ? blazing, 5.
melyn *adj.* yellow, 102, 1076, 1079.
melys *adj.* sweet, 102, 700, 745.
men *adv.* where, wherever, 31, 307, 469, 778, 916.
menestri *plur. n.* cupbearers, 1113.
merch *n.* daughter, 647.
Merchyr, Diw *n.* Wednesday, 653.
merin *n.* sea, 944.
meuwedd *n.* riches, 1017.
mi *pers. pron.* I, 480(2). See ***i***[2].
mid *n.* battle, 433, 637, 643; ? ***myd,*** 396.
milcant *num.* hundred thousand, 96.
miled *n.* army, 1040; *plur.* ***miledawr,*** 1041.
minnau *pers. pron.* I, I for my part, 247, 1116.
moch *adv.* early, 662, 670.
molaid *adj.* praised, renowned, celebrated, 310, 406, 411, 416, 546.
moled *n.* praise, 745.
moli *v.n.* praise, 22.
molud *n.* fame, renown, 823; clamour, 649.
mor *adv.* as, so, how, 120, 122, 349, 351, 364, 365(2), 372, 382, 391, 392, 488, 678.

môr *n.* sea, 304, 824, 1035.
mordai *plur. n.* court, hall(s), 37, 139, 153, 212, 231, 894.
morddwyd *n.* thigh, 14, 518, 1087.
morion 842, see ***mawr.***
morwyn *n.* maiden, 850.
mudo *v.n.* neigh; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***mudyn,*** 714.
mur *n.* wall, rampart, 8, 310, 406, 411, 456, 575, 596, 608, 971, 1031.
mwng *n.* mane, 452.
mwth *adj.* swift, 13. Cf. ***mythfeirch.***
mwy *comp. adv.* more, 371.
mwyaf *superl. adj.* greatest, largest, 392, 414.
mwynlawr *adj.* wealthy, opulent, 99, 106, 153.
myd 396, see ***mid;*** cf. ***byd.***
mygedorth *adj.* steaming, 298.
mygr *adj.* fine, 833, 1079.
mygrwas *n.* handsome youth, 14.
myngfras *adj.* long-maned, 13.
myned *v.n.* go; *3rd. sing. pret.* ***aeth,*** 9, 67, 74, 78, 84, 94, 100, 107, 115, 131, 240, 356, 931; *1st. plur. pret.*, ***aetham,*** 869; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***aethant,*** 417, 539, 1052, 1112; *3rd. plur. pres. subj.*, ***elwynt,*** 71, 82; *3rd. sing. imperf. subj.*, ***elai,*** 31, 1001, 1007.
mynog *n.* lord, prince, 374, 470, 646, 711, 825, 850; *adj.* princely, eminent, 730; ***mynawg,*** 258.
mynnu *v.n.* desire, seek; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***mynnai,*** 641; *3rd. sing. pret.* ***mynnws,*** 92.
mynu ? *v.n.* ? heed; *impers. imperf. ind.*, ***mynid,*** 778.
mynud *adj.* courteous, 467, 668; *n.* liberality, 824.
mynych *adj.* frequent, 963.
mynydd *n.* mountain, 1007, 1009.
mysgi *n.* turmoil, 620.
mythfeirch *plur. n.* swift horses, 499.

N

'n *inf. obj. pron.* us, 248, 429, 433, 465, 716, 745, 817.
na *neg. part.* not, that not, 104, 238, 367, 436, 462, 469, 763, 778; see ***nas;*** *conj.* nor, 308, 529; (yet) not, 480; ***nac,*** neither, nor, 46(2), 529, 860.
nâd *n.* song, poetry, 10.
namyn *prep.* but, except, save, 39, 245, 544, 552, 661, 737, 870, 1114; *conj.* 643.
nas *neg. part. with inf. obj. pron.* not . . . them, 85. See ***na.***
naw *num.* nine, 751, 900.
nawdd *n.* quarter, mercy, 34, 532.
neb *pron.* anyone, 292, 346, 385, 887; ***nebawd,*** 254, 262.

nef *n.* heaven, 163, 316, 433, 773, 895; ***nyf*** 238.
neges *n.* attack, expedition; purpose, 118, 514, 646.
neidr *n.* snake, 1024; *plur.* ***nadredd,*** 1025.
neithiawr *n.* wedding-feast, 24, 62.
nerth *n.* strength, power; host, 357, 489.
nerthydd *n.* strengthener, sustainer, 129.
neu *affirm. part.* indeed, truly, 116, 380, 483, 857; ***neud,*** 10, 384, 913; *with inf. obj. pron.,* ***neus,*** 37, 108, 114, 441, 540, 571, 659, 1074, 1102.
neuadd *n.* hall, 364, 372, 382, 391, 499, 859.
ni[1] *pers. pron.* us, 896.
ni[2] *neg. part.* not, who . . . not, 19, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 46, 47, 92, 119, 122, 245, 248, 250, 292, 295, 308, 336, 364, 367, 371, 372, 382, 391, 436, 455, 469, 471, 472, 514{2}, 516, 518, 528, 529, 531, 532, 544, 606, 649, 661, 682, 723, 724, 727, 736, 738, 744, 758, 775, 791, 858{2}, 859, 912{2}, 939, 951, 972, 1013; ***nid,*** 5, 179, 233, 284, 285, 287, 346, 350, 374, 385, 470, 487{2}, 493, 505, 515, 552, 713, 715, 726, 731, 779, 870, 878, 880, 881, 887, 892, 916, 917, 920, 959, 962, 1013, 1114, 1119; *with inf. obj. pron.,* ***nis,*** not . . . it, 253, 261, 458, 461, 616, 762.
no *conj.* than, 57, 64, 210, 254, 262, 266, 375, 383, 528, 606, 638, 885, 942; ***nog,*** 26, 370, 859; ***nogyd,*** 24, 62, 63. See ***cyn no.***
nod *n.* pledge, promise, 42; renown, note, 312, 465.
nodded *n.* support, advantage, 1119.
noddi *v.n.* give protection; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.,* ***noddi,*** 46.
nofant *adj.* blood-stained, 644.
nofi *v.n.* stain; *3rd. plur. pres. ind.,* ***nofant,*** 189.
nogyd 24, 62, 63; see ***no.***
nw *adv.* now, 10.
nyf 238, see ***nef.***
nyfed *n.* hall, 649.

O

o *prep.* of, about, from, 6, 35, 39, 51, 60, 93, 108, 123, 141, 146, 204, 206, 209, 229, 241, 244, 247, 250, 260, 276, 297, 303, 305, 324, 330, 333{2}, 334, 340, 396, 421, 454, 459, 465, 478{2}, 479, 489, 490, 491{2}, 536, 543, 544, 550, 551, 573, 574, 595, 607, 623, 625, 637, 638, 661, 672, 736, 776, 796, 831, 833, 846, 856, 857, 869{2}, 889, 897, 928, 929, 970, 991, 998, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1025, 1046, 1058, 1071, 1102, 1113, 1115, 1116, 1118; after, 539, 545, 738; at, 994; with, 615; by, through, on account of, 54, 245, 249, 419, 537, 549, 902, 907; ***og,*** from, 993; ***ohonaw,*** of it, 959; ***o blith,*** from among, 1049; ***o du,*** beside, 275; ***o'i,*** in his, 497, 501, 524, 740, 744, 759; for his, 112; ***o'i gylchyn,*** around him, 1077, 1080; ***o'th blegyd,*** on thy behalf, 1.

o dan *prep.* under, beneath, 14, 28, 268, 279, 473, 559, 863, 965, 1087; ***adanaw,*** under him, 754. See ***a dan, dan.***
odid *n.* rarity, 637.
odd *prep.* of, about, 460.
odd is *prep.* beneath, down, 52.
odd uch *prep.* above, over, 121, 137, 348, 428, 833. See ***uch.***
oed *n.* age, life, 11, 101.
ofnawr *plur. n.* fears, 95.
ofnog *adj.* timorous, 377.
offer *plur. n.* weapons, 307.
og 993, see ***o.***
ôl 352, 769, see ***yn ôl.***
oll *pron.* all, 1013.
oni *conj.* until, 35, 555, 1092; unless, 249, 373; ***onid,*** 47.
onn *plur. n.* {ashen} spears, 297.
or *n.* boundary; wing, 401, 716.
oswydd *n.* enemy, 124, 398.

P

pa *interrog. pron.* what ?, 29.
pabir *n.* wick, candle, lamp, 148.
pais *n.* smock, coat, 997.
paladr *n.* spear-shaft, spear, 520; *plur.* ***peleidr,*** 358, 696, 717{2}, 741, 1023.
pan[1] *conj.* when, 8, 9, 38, 41, 113, 129, 216, 234, 255, 301, 327, 390, 463, 660, 671, 687, 744, 794, 798, 844, 891, 894, 897, 915, 919, 930, 931, 961, 1001, 1006, 1007, 1108; *pron.* whence, that, 141, 254, 262, 998.
pan[2] *n.* cup, 831, 833.
pâr *n.* spear, 1083; *plur.* ***parau,*** 219.
parhau *v.n.* last, endure; *3rd. sing. pres. ind.,* ***perheyd,*** 127.
parth *n.* part, region, 303, 637, 897; host, 584.
pasg *adj.* well-fed, 156.
pawb *pron.* everyone, 234.
pebyll *n.* tent, 38, 660.
pedrain *n.* crupper, 16.
pedryollt *adj.* square-pointed, 105; *n.* grasp, 297.
pedwar *num.* four, 1039, 1040; *fem.* ***pedair,*** 236.
pefr *adj.* shining, 1024.
peiriant *n.* command, 80.
peithing *n.* destruction, 251{2}.
peithynad *n.* mail-clad man, 900.
pêl *n.* ball, 554.
peleidriad *n.* spearthrust, ? spearman, 697.
pell *adj.* far, 638.
pellennig *adj.* far-reaching, 862.
pellws *adj.* shattered, 862.

pen *n.* head, top, 309, 369, 439, 444, 450, 658, 681, 687, 767, 996, 1109; beak, 630; chieftain, leader, 682, 990; *plur.* ***pennawr,*** heads, 138; spearheads, 105; ***pen,*** *num.* one, a, 1008(3), 1009, 1010; *adj.* chief, 741.
pennawd *adj.* leading, in the forefront, 861.
penweddawr *adj.* arching the neck, 742.
penyd *n.* penance, 703.
penydiaw *v.n.* do penance, 71; ***penydu,*** 82.
perchen *n.* owner, possessor, 442, 688.
pererin *n.* traveller, 7.
perfedd *n.* centre, 968.
peri *v.n.* make, form; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***ryberi,*** 267.
periglawr *n.* ? threatener, ? endangerer, 741.
periglu *v.n.* endanger; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***periglyn,*** 741.
peryf *n.* chieftain, 663.
peues *n.* land, 1038.
pîn *n.* pine (log), 6.
plegyd *n.* cause, account; ***o'th blegyd,*** on thy behalf, 1.
pleingiaid *v.n.* fight, 461.
plith *n.* midst; ***o blith,*** from among, 1049.
pluddwe *n.* feather cushion, 152.
plwm *n.* ? enemy, 201.
plymlwyd *n.* battle, 939.
plymnwyd *n.* war, conflict, battle, 180, 182, 716.
pob *adj.* every, 506, 596, 608, 834, 898, 900.
porffor *adj.* purple, purple-clad, 7, 155, 648, 1049.
porth *n.* suffering, 295.
porthi *v.n.* bear, suffer; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***porthi,*** 493; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***porthynt,*** 649; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***porthes,*** 735; *3rd. plur. pret.*, ***porthasan,*** 912.
porthloedd *n.* haven, 782, 783, 1050.
pren *n.* spear, 452.
present *n.* world, 239; *adj.* constant, continual, 553.
prid *adj.* costly, 355.
prif *n.* chieftain, 445.
pryd[1] *n.* time, 931.
pryd[2] *n.* form, appearance, 1024.
pryder *n.* care, 799.
pryderu *v.n.* think, ponder; *1st. sing. pres. ind.*, ***pryderaf,*** 800.
pryffwn *n.* foremost one, 1083.
prynu *v.n.* redeem, 355.
pubell *n.* eye, 1023.
pum *num.* five, 59, 361.
pur *adj.* pure, 1070, 1118.
puro *v.n.* cleanse; ? *impers. or pass. imper.*, ***purawr,*** 104.
pwylliad *n.* intention, 114.
pwys *n.* pressure, 811; *adj.* heavy, 741.
pwyth *n.* requital, recompense, 307, 380.

pybyr *adj.* valiant, 352, 769.
pymcant *num.* five hundred, 190.
pymwnt *num.* fifty, 59, 190, 361,
pysg *n.* fish, 1005, 1010.

R

'r *def. art.* the, 244, 396, 623, 869, 1011, 1113. See ***y, yr.***
re *adj.* swift, rapid, 583, 993.
rector *n.* ruler, 575, 596, 608.
reïawr *plur. n.* booty, 133.
ryadwn 91, see ***gadu.***
ryberi 267, see ***peri.***
rydywys 690, see ***tywys***[1]***.***
ry-ddug 740, see ***dwyn.***
ryfaethpwyd 47, see ***magu.***
rygawsant 1119, see ***caffael.***
rygodesyn 994, see ***codi.***
rygodded 844, see ***coddi.***
rygwyddyn 993, see ***cwyddo.***
ryladded 867, see ***lladd.***
ry-re *n.* bound, bounding, 554.
rywanai 962; ***rywaned,*** 962; see ***gwân, gwanu.***

Rh

rhaeadr *n.* waterfall, 1010.
rhag *prep.* before, against, in face of, because of, from, at, 5, 38, 44, 48, 58, 59, 99, 106, 113, 140, 164, 267, 361, 378, 399, 410, 412, 424, 425, 427, 451, 498, 542, 582, 586, 650, 660, 663, 673, 720, 731, 733, 743, 751, 762, 777, 780, 821, 887, 896, 914, 950, 954, 957, 958, 1081; ***'i rag,*** in the presence of, 1017, 1018, 1019.
rhagfuan *adj.* swift, very swift, 388, 830.
rhaglym *adj.* sharp-pointed, very sharp, 386.
rhagori *v.n.* take the lead; ? run before; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***rhagorai,*** 360, 830.
rhagrygïawr *adj.* racing forward, 388.
rhagwan *v.n.* charge forward, 58.
rhagwedd *n.* distinction, 784.
rhagyrwedd *n.* forward position, 785.
rhai *plur. pron.* some, some ones, 948.
rhaid *n.* battle, 339, 546, 1110.
rhan *n.* part, region, 53, 232; sharing, distribution, 50, 730, 1106.
rhannu *v.n.* distribute; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***rhannai,*** 299.
rhawn *n.* horsehair, 903.
rhedeg *v.n.* run, 802.

rhiain *n.* lady, maiden, 850, 1028.
rhiallu *n.* champion, 551, 751, 985; host, 650.
rhiau *n. sing. & plur.* lord(s), king(s), 404, 812.
rhif *n.* number, 1106.
rhifo *v.n.* esteem; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***rhifesid,*** 630.
rhith *n.* form, shape, 430.
rhiydd *n.* grandeur, 168.
rhodawg *n.* round shield, 836.
rhodawr *n.* round shield, 33.
rhodres *n.* ostentation, display, 513; ***rhyodres,*** 168.
rhoddi *v.n.* give, 77; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***rhoddai,*** 34, 257, 662; *3rd. plur. imperf. ind.*, ***rhoddyn,*** 532; *3rd. sing. pret.*, ***rhoddes,*** 1103.
rhonin *plur. n.* hairy slugs, 473.
rhudd *adj.* red, crimson, blood-stained, 657, 693, 954.
rhuddfedel *n.* blood-shedding reaper, 621. See ***medel.***
rhugl adj. swift, 91.
rhuthr *n.* swoop, rush, charge, 41, 780.
rhwng *prep.* between, among, 409, 973; *1st. pers. sing.*, ***y rhof,*** 20.
rhwy *adv.* abundant(ly), 593; *n.* excess, too many, 550.
rhwyd *n.* net, snare, ensnarer, 40, 1027.
rhwyfiadur *n.* leader, lord, 575, 596.
rhwygiad *n.* tearer, 219, 977.
rhwygo *v.n.* tear, rend; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***rhwygai,*** 136.
rhy *adv.* too much, too great, 703.
rhybudd *n.* warning, 846.
rhyd *n.* ford, 164, 861, 893; *plur.* ***rhydon,*** 273.
rhyddyrch *adj.* illustrious, 465.
rhyfel *n.* war, 404, 496, 621, 690.
rhyferthi *n.* flood-tide, 619.
rhygu *n.* most lovable one, 299.
rhyn *adj.* hard, harsh, rough, threatening, 91, 219, 421, 903; erect, 430; *n.* warrior, 164.
rhynnawdd *n.* onslaught, 424.
rhyodres 168, see ***rhodres.***
rhywin *n.* plentiful wine, 299.

S

-s, *inf. obj. pron.* him, it, them; ***a-s,*** 184, 237, 880; ***-as-,*** 155, 893; ***na-s,*** 85; ***neu-s,*** 37, 108, 114, 441, 540, 571, 659, 1074, 1102; ***ni-s,*** 253, 261, 458, 461, 616, 762; ***y-s,*** 315, 325, 481; ***-ys-,*** 215, 976.
Sadwrn, Diw *n.* Saturday, 656.
safwy *adj.* steadfast, 706.
saffwy *n.* spear, 588.
saffwyog *adj.* bearing a spear, 368.

saith *num.* seven, 536.
sarff *n.* serpent, 211, 562, 588.
sathar *n.* trampling, 612.
sawl, (y) *pron.* those, such, as many, 244, 396, 869, 1011, 1113.
sengi *v.n.* trample, tread down; *3rd. sing. imperf. ind.*, ***sengi,*** 563, 567; *impers. pret.*, ***sanged,*** 612; ***sengid,*** 613.
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